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★ Japan's smashing victories in her crusade against communism have had one ironical result: they have thrown much of the power in what is left of China into the hands of the most uncompromisingly anti-Japanese element—the Chinese communists. But these "reds" are not all the bearded villains of the popular imagination, as a glance at this month's cover (International picture) will assure you. We don't know her name, but we like her face; and she is the belle of General Ho-lung's Second Front Red Army. If you want some information about her friends and fellow-communists, you will find it in *China's Communists*—a section of this month's picture section, *The Camera's Story of History-in-the-Making*. If there is more power for the Chinese communists, there is also *More Power to You*—the other section of the picture supplement. It portrays the gigantic power projects undertaken by the New Deal.

★ In *Land of Plenty* **Rexford G. Tugwell** describes the course of the struggle through the centuries to achieve an adequate, let alone an abundant, supply of food. Now that the physical problem has been solved, he outlines the new problems and prospects ahead and points the way to a better civilization through a better food supply. Mr. Tugwell, one of the most controversial figures in recent political life, has retired to private business, but he is far from abandoning his lively interest in public policy.

★ **Randall Gould**, a welcome newcomer to *Current History*, contributes a lively, amusing, and penetrating account of the diplomatic courtship between China and Soviet Russia which takes on special timeliness at the present moment. The Author of *The Colors Change in China* is a former U. P. and present *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent as well as editor of an English publication in Shanghai.

★ Now that Messrs. Jackson and Ickes have sounded off against the monopolies, here is a matter for their attention. *Food for the Trust-Busters*, based upon a dynamite-packed report of the Federal Trade Commission which Congressman Culkin charges was suppressed, describes the food trusts that have conspired to keep up the price of breakfast, lunch, and dinner. The story was disinterred from its quiet burial-place by **Norman Cousins**, associate editor of *Current History*.

★ Behind the headlines, beneath the deliberations of legislatures and the acts of dictators, is the continuing activity of various groups of political conspirators which comprise *Underground Europe*. The followers of this hazardous calling and their varied political objectives are fascinatingly and authoritatively revealed by **Max Nomad**, the author of *Rebels and Renegades* and other works, who is now in Europe on a Guggenheim Fellowship studying the subject of this article.

★ Some six years ago **Claud Cockburn** was one of the London *Times'* most brilliant correspondents, stationed in the United States. He decided, however, to run his own paper. The result was *The Week*, one of the most challenging and revealing publications of modern journalism; it called the Ethiopian war, the Spanish revolt, and was far ahead of its English contemporaries on the 1936 abdication crisis. If you have wondered why England lets Mussolini and Hitler get away with murder, and why, for instance, Lord Halifax was sent to Germany, you will find a convincing explanation in *Britain's "Cliveden Set"*. You will also find some entirely new information about a powerful but little-known group which has become known as "the second Foreign Office"—and of which, incidentally, the social center is an American woman.

★ Recent events in Poland and Rumania lend a vital significance to *The Anti-Semitic Twins*, by **Emil Lengyel** and **Herbert Seligmann**. Mr. Lengyel has contributed frequently to *Current History* and is well-known as an authority on southeastern Europe. Mr. Seligmann, a close student of the position of the Jews today who has just returned from Rumania, is a contributor to *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and other publications.

★ **Maurice Halperin**, who is now preparing a book on Mexico, contributes a colorful picture of life on a cooperative farm in that country—*Model Farms in Mexico*.

★ **Nina Belmonte**, a woman war correspondent with the rebel forces in Spain, writes *Spanish War Profiles*—a series of vivid sidelights on the civil war from a rebel angle.

★ The housing program, designed to bring back prosperity, lends timely importance to the sixth of **Herbert Harris'** series on labor in America, *Building and the Unions*.

CURRENT HISTORY

FEBRUARY 1938

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N. B. COUSINS

The World Today in Books

VEN if you are fed up by now with all this messy war business and would like to shut the gates on anything more having to do with stories about bullets and bombs, it will be worth your while to look over three new books before clamping down. Each one concerns the present war in China and each one is written—not 5,000 or more miles away in a warm parlor but on the scene of the shooting. The books are *Red Star Over China*, by Edgar Snow; *First Act in China*, by James M. Bertram; and *I Speak for the Chinese*, by Carl Crow.

What about duplication? Yes, there is duplication, but what of it? The central theme concerns China and the reasons for the current outbreak, and in that sense there is bound to be some duplication. Each author develops his topic along such widely separated lines and brings in so many individual observations that you will be glad that you read all three. If there is any single picture to be drawn from the three books, it is that China's future is hinged heavily on a new and growing force within itself—the communists, who already control the lives of 20,000,000 Chinese.

It is only recently that reports have filtered out of the Orient confirming the actual existence of a large and powerful communist "nation" in the Northwest Chinese provinces. Japan had been crying "Red!" for ten years and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had reportedly sent army after army after the revolutionaries or "bandits" determined to exterminate them entirely, but whether the communists were more of a myth than an actuality was a question whose answer was known by few Westerners. The scarcity of information until recent months was largely due to a news blockade, Edgar Snow says, which the Chinese Government set up around the communist districts.

The communists today have been given their political freedom by the Kuomintang but when Mr. Snow was engaged in the process of collecting

material for *Red Star Over China*, there were few of them who did not have prices on their heads. The penalty of communist affiliation was death and the author's problem was to break the blockade somehow, get through to the leaders, and then slip through the blockade again to a place where the story could be sent out of the country. He had no illusions about the supposed safety of a news correspondent regardless of the locale of the assignment. He knew that his life could be snuffed out simply and quietly, without even the benefit of a notice to the outside world.

But he was anxious, Snow writes, to once and for all learn the truth about the communists. What was there to the legend of Mao Tse-tung? What about the report that the Red Army numbered half a million armed men? What kind of arms did they have and where did they come from? What were they aiming to do and when did they propose to start? There was no end to these questions and when Snow learned that there was a weak spot in one link of the blockade he set out to break it at that point.

Snow managed to penetrate the blockade and *Red Star Over China* is the result. It is an interesting book and often an amazing one. It is written in the form of an adventure—there is no

other word to describe the wanderings of a reporter in the remote interior of China on a mission that could very easily result in his death. But the book is also an important historical record. It has taken most of the guess-work out of our information about the communists of China. Mr. Snow's actual photographs of the people, the army, the leaders, the life in the Communist Northwest reinforce the fact that the communists not only exist but have made a very effective job of it.

A number of popular fallacies are bound to be exploded not only by Mr. Snow but by the authors of *First Act in China* and *I Speak for the Chinese* on what the communists actually stand for and how they go about achieving their objectives. The first idea to be scotched, according to these books, is that the Chinese communists are directed from Moscow. This puppet-on-a-string notion is all wrong and the authors say that Chinese communism has taken its inspiration and its objectives from the needs of the Chinese people. The communists have regarded Japan—even long before the current war—as the chief threat not only to Chinese sovereignty but to the people. They were opposed, too, to the brazen cruelty of the Chinese war lords, the high taxes upon the lands, the inhumane treatment of the landlords.

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
<i>Red Star Over China</i>	Edgar Snow	Random House	\$3.00
<i>First Act in China</i>	James M. Bertram	Viking Press	3.00
<i>I Speak for the Chinese</i>	Carl Crow	Harpers	1.00
<i>The Tyranny of Words</i>	Stuart Chase	Harcourt, Brace	2.50
<i>Plot and Counterplot in Central Europe</i>	M. W. Fodor	Houghton, Mifflin	3.50
<i>Transgressor in the Tropics</i>	Negley Farson	Harcourt, Brace	2.50
<i>This Troubled World</i>	Eleanor Roosevelt	H. C. Kinsey	1.00
<i>The Family of Nations</i>	Nicholas Murray Butler	Scribners	3.00

Against all this they banded together and attracted to them millions of supporters, few of whom would fit in with the popular conception of communists. Those who joined the ranks of Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh did so not because they were following the chimera of a more abundant life but because they realized that it was the only way in which China could become a nation worthy of the respect not only of its own people but of the outside world. They were in a certain sense, the patriots or nationalists of China.

Why were they harried by Chiang Kai-shek? Why were they forced to break up their homes in southeastern Hunan and flee across the length and breadth of China on a march of many thousands of miles if their purposes were "noble?" There are two answers. The first is to be found in the ties which bound Chiang to the conservative elements of the Kuomintang. The second may be traced to agreements—most of them secret—with Japan, to wipe out communism in China.

The hegira of the communists to the Shensi province—easily the most remarkable performance of its kind in recent history—does not fit in with the scare-stories of "communists on the march." Mr. Snow and Mr. Bertram tell of relief, not ransacking or ruin, brought to impoverished and ill peasants along the route. They tell, too, of public health services, such as compulsory inoculation and dietary correction; of the beginning made in the reduction of illiteracy; of the distribution of food and clothing. Where did the money come from? Confiscation, contribution, and the wealth of the land. Confiscation meant to the com-

munists the "taxation" of surplus cash and goods of the landlords and other "irresponsible rich." No looting was tolerated but the moneyed people were required to report every item to the Finance Commission, to be used as the basis of "taxation." The contributions came from all classes. Chu Teh, the commander, gave his personal fortune, which was very great. Income was also derived from State trade, from their own industries, from the cooperatives, and surprising enough, from bank loans.

Several years ago the Chinese communists decided that Japan presented too much of an increasing menace to a divided China and sought terms of peace with Chiang Kai-shek. Whether this decision was inspired by the "popular front" ideology of the Third International is unimportant. The essential fact was that they were willing to renounce a substantial portion of their communist philosophy and unite with the government to drive out Nippon.

It was not until Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped late in 1936, however, that anything concrete was done by the government toward uniting forces. The kidnapping, as Mr. Bertram says in the title of his book, was the "first act in China." Then and there the present war had its roots. While he was a "hostage" to the Young Marshal and the communist forces, Chiang made a number of agreements, the most important of which was that China would no longer submit to Japanese oppression. A key to the other agreements may be found in the recent government decree giving amnesty to all political prisoners and in the termination of the fight against the communists.

Questions and Answers

Answers on Page 77

1. Is Honolulu on the island of Hawaii?
2. A recent headline reads: "Japanese Reach Nanking; Sun's Tomb Surrounded." What is meant by Sun's Tomb?
3. When was the Chinese Republic founded?
4. Is Nanking the largest city in China?
5. Is Shanghai larger or smaller than Chicago?
6. Who was Dr. Sun Yat Sen?
7. Is the following statement true?—Soviet Russia occupies one-twelfth of the world's habitable land.
8. What is the Tennessee Basin?
9. What great dam has recently been built in the upper Tennessee Basin?
10. What is the largest dam now under construction by the Government of the United States?
11. Where is the Grand Coulee Dam?
12. Who has recently resigned as Ambassador to Germany?
13. Who has been appointed to take his place?
14. What position did the new Ambassador hold just immediately before he was appointed to this post?
15. What governor of what state recently ordered a collective bargaining election in defiance of the N.L.R.B.?
16. What industry was affected by this bargaining election?
17. What federal office did the late Andrew Mellon hold?
18. Under what president was Alexander Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury?
19. In what century was George Washington president?
20. What was the purpose of the McNary Farm Bill Amendment?
21. The Senate voted on the McNary Amendment on December 7th. Was it adopted?
22. By what authority is the price paid for silver by the United States fixed?

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The kidnapping, its circumstances and its consequences, are told in Mr. Bertram's *First Act in China*, the most complete record available anywhere of the incident. Like Mr. Snow, Mr. Bertram is not an historian but a reporter, yet his book, and Mr. Snow's, too, will be used as the basis for future histories. Good reporters often rush in and come out with valuable stories where historians fear to tread.

The outcome of the present war with Japan rests in a large measure with the communists, but Mr. Crow points out in his *I Speak for the Chinese* that China will have to achieve a greater degree of unity among its various other factions. No part or portion of China can be greater than the whole of China. Cantonese last year thought that the war did not affect them, that Japan's military operations were confined to the Shanghai area, and they received a Japanese battleship in their harbor with the usual show of indifference and even slight friendliness. They have since regretted their mistake. Recent bombings of Canton emphasize that Japan is not disposed to exercise discrimination among the Chinese, in the aerial discharge of her bombs.

Japan, according to Mr. Crow, who worked on the *Japan Advertiser* for a number of years, sincerely believes that it has a mission. Nippon has definite ideas as to what the civilization of the world shall be and would like to see those ideas tried out. She is convinced that Japan's culture and civilization is superior and can see no reason why she should not extend the various benefits of that culture to the rest of the world. This is no fantastic yellow scare but the actual sentiment among high Japanese officials.

I Speak for the Chinese is short, colorful, and to the point. Mr. Crow has something to say and says it without wasting words in a book that will take about an hour of your time.

Words to Explain Words

THE most unique and original book published in a long time is Stuart Chase's *Tyranny of Words*. Mr. Chase has done what he thought at first might be impossible; he has explained words with words. If the subject sounds somewhat innocuous and nothing over which to get excited, this department is willing to issue a challenge: what is actually meant when the word "democracy" is used, when people refer to various "isms" with the calm assurance that they know what they are talking about, when we say that this country is "good" and that country is "bad"?

Hundreds of books have been published in the last few years on the relative merits of particular forms of social philosophy and government. Yet only a handful of them use the same words to mean the same things. There are styles in words just as there are styles in fashions and you can always depend upon the propagandists or tacticians to follow or even set the styles. Right now, for example, the word "democracy" is in high favor.

A half-dozen years ago it was very fashionable to be an opponent of democracy, because democracy at that time was supposed to be synonymous with a whole host of capitalist evils. Those who led the propaganda against democracy were the proletarian writers who called the signals for the parade of sympathizers and active supporters of the Russian form of government. If your memory is fair you will remember how the word "liberty" was scorned. "Liberty in a democracy," they used to say, "means liberty to starve and be exploited by the capitalists."

"Just what does this word Fascist mean, Henry?"

*"It comes from Fasces,
a bundle of rods and an
ax that you see on this
dime. Our New Merriam-
Webster gives an in-
teresting story about
Fasces."*



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But at that time the Soviet was not threatened by the existence of what is now a fascist bloc. It will be recalled, in fact, that the leading democratic nations—and the word democratic is used to mean Great Britain, France, and the United States—were not too anxious to court the friendship of the Soviet. And Russia, in her turn, espoused the theory of world revolution and openly scorned the democratic or "capitalist" countries.

Then fascism, spawned by Il Duce, spread to Germany where it was taken up and tailored to fit nazi ideology. Part of the fascist credo—in addition to its formula of suppression, regimentation, and oppression—involved denunciation of anything even faintly pink. Italy and Germany drained the blood of their people in turning out armaments and there was no question in the minds of Russian government officials as to what country those armaments would be used against when the war did start.

Presto! Change of tactics and strategy. Democracy suddenly became desirable. Democratic nations were good. Democratic nations would unite with democratic Russia against the fascists. United front. Down with war and fascism! Fight for peace and democracy! A number of professed "pacifists" who didn't want to fight for democracy in 1928 are beating the war drums in 1938. It wasn't that they were pacifists. It was just that they didn't have a cause for war to their liking at that time. Now they have and they want to fight.

Stuart Chase poses this question:

As an American, do I love the people of Russia enough to urge the killing of tens of thousands of my people in a war against Germany, Italy, or Japan? The answer is no. I desire to see the people of Russia given a chance to work out one of the most significant economic experiments ever undertaken, but I am not prepared, as an American, to protect that experiment by force of arms. I remember too vividly the last time Americans ventured forth to make the world safe for democracy.

Mr. Chase is right. There is a tyranny of words. What you say may be perfectly true, yet if its net effect may be unfavorable, say, to the cause of the Soviet, you are labeled as a red-baiter or a reactionary. And conversely, if you hit out hard against the economic barons of this country; if you support and stand for the legal right of organization by unions; if you support the labor movement; if you favor wages and hours legislation, social security,

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unemployment insurance; if you support anything, in fact, that is part of an enlightened society you will be called red and say, buddy, why don't you go back where you came from?

Absolutes to the right of us, absolutes to the left of us.

Mr. Chase says:

At times like these I am almost ready to go back to the sign language. How would you call a man a pacifist with your hands? . . . Good language alone will not save mankind. But seeing the things behind the names will help us to understand the structure of the world we live in. Good language will help us to communicate with one another about the realities of our environment, where now we speak darkly, in alien tongues.

The publishers of Mr. Chase's book would perform a distinct public service if they distributed *The Tyranny of Words* to those who make a habit of using words about whose definitions they are not too clear, but since that means all of us, we can forgive them if they decline the suggestion.

The New Nobility

IN RECENT years there has come into being a nobility or aristocracy of the Fourth Estate. Its founder was Vincent Sheehan; its High Priest Negley Farson; its Prophet John Gunther; its Sergeant-at-Arms Walter Duranty; its Keeper-of-the-Peace Webb Miller. Into the Grand Council of the Foreign-Correspondents-Who-Write-Memoirs there now comes one M. W. Fodor, Vienna correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*. He is nominated by John Gunther, who, in the introduction to Fodor's new book, *Plot and Counterplot in Central Europe*, writes that Fodor educated him about Europe from the cradle. He has the most comprehensive knowledge of Europe, says Gunther, of any journalist he knows.

After reading *Plot and Counterplot in Central Europe*, the reader is inclined to understand why Gunther was so lavish in his praise. M. W. Fodor has been in central Europe a long time

(Continued on Page 80)



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Of Ships

T HIS country operates nearly two fifths of all the railroad mileage in the world, drives more than two thirds of all the automobiles, and publishes about half of all the newspapers. It produces approximately one third of all the coal, more than one half of all the cotton, and over two thirds of all the oil. According to the Brazilian Ambassador, it enjoys about one half of all the monetary income.

Such things being so, why is this country so weak with regard to merchant ships in foreign trade or so content to remain weak? Why does it take less pride in ships than in skyscrapers?

The sorry situation with respect to our merchant marine can not be attributed to lack of means or precedent. We have the money, as is shown by our bank statements and our investments in other lines. Also, we have the example, as is recorded in our history books. Eighty or one hundred years ago, Americans boasted that they could not, and would not be outsailed by anyone. They carried American trade to all the seven seas, following uncharted courses and entering uncharted ports. They spread the fame of American enterprise to all quarters of the globe, meeting and beating competition wherever they ran foul of it. They did all this, moreover, without getting their country into war.

We no longer take pride in the glory that once went with our clippers. We no longer urge our marine architects, ship-owners and captains to make America first on the sea. If a tall building is erected abroad, we work and stew until a taller one is built in this country, but we do not even wince when such boats as the *Rex*, the *Normandie*, and the *Queen Mary* take our speed records away.

This country came out of the World War with one of the greatest merchant fleets ever constructed, and then let it rust away for lack of support.

When the *Panay* was sunk the other day, millions of Americans jumped to the conclusion that we would have to take the incident lying down, or go to war. Secretary Hull, by his able handling of the case, proved that a third and far better course was open.

It simply isn't true that men and nations must waive legitimate rights or risk bloodshed. If it were, this world would face a hopeless future.

Neither is it true that we must give up the idea of expanding trade and building American ships on a large scale in order to keep out of foreign entanglements. We have a right to be strong upon the sea—just as good a right as any other country, and we must assume that the exercise of that right can be peacefully enjoyed.

Great foreign ships are entering our ports every day. If their governments are not afraid, why should we be? But we are afraid. There is no other explanation for our peculiar attitude toward ships and shipping. Many of us have come to associate foreign trade—especially

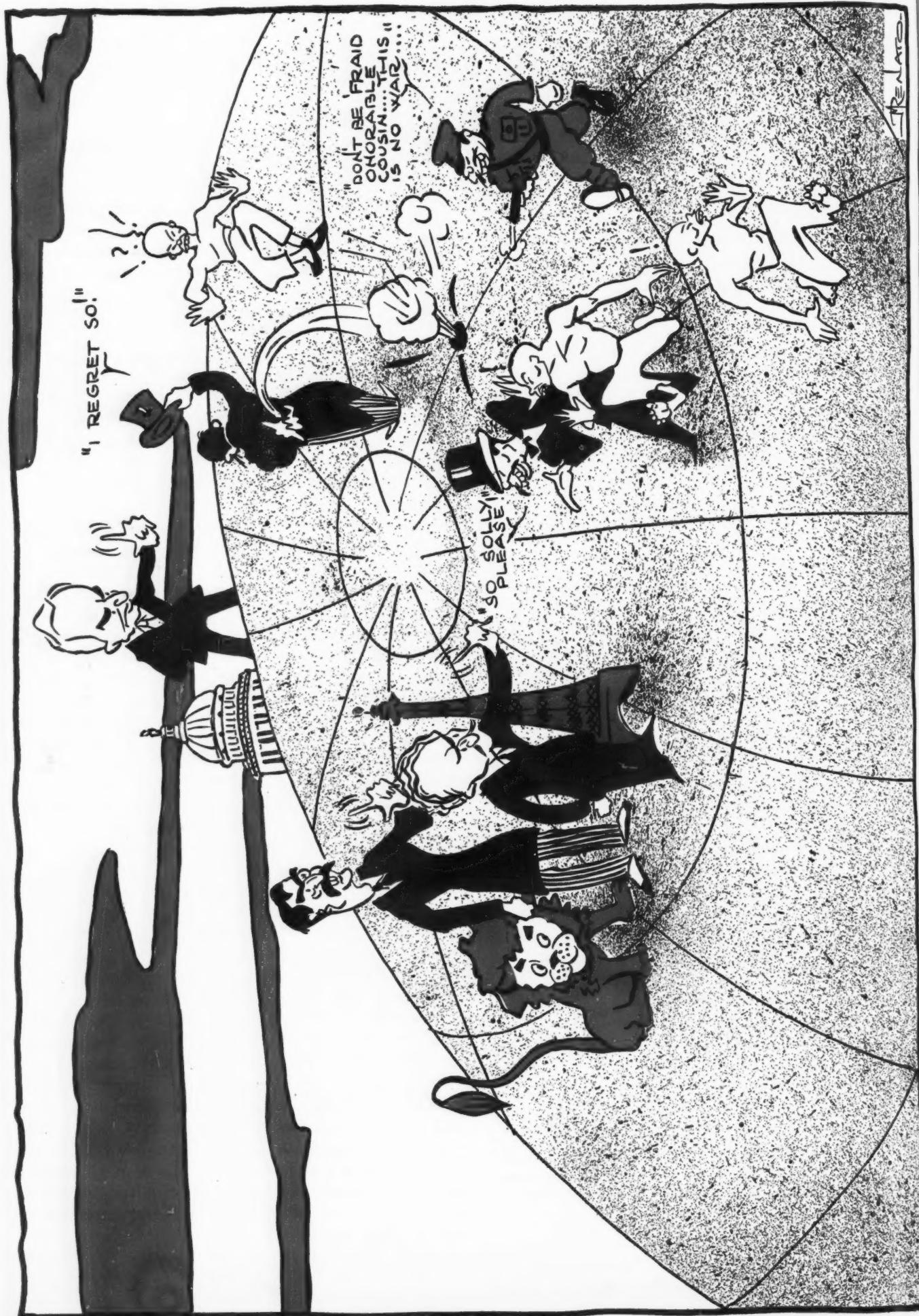
as carried on by American ships—with trouble. News of the bombing of the *Panay* was quickly followed by a demand that our ships be withdrawn from Chinese waters, lest their presence create a situation that might lead to war.

We are afraid not only of getting into trouble if we send our ships abroad, but of the cost competition involves. We insist that our sailors be better paid, better fed, and better housed than those of other nations, and it is proper that we should. Sailors are entitled to share in our general prosperity. They have a right to equally as good wages and equally as good working conditions as people on land. But if we insist on this, as we have by writing it into law, why not pay the price? As things now stand, we are merely driving American ships off the sea by creating such conditions as make it impossible for them to pay their way in competition with foreign ships. That being so, we should do no less than assume such part of the burden as we have imposed upon them unless, indeed, we are ready to abandon our rights on the sea.

We have no choice but to subsidize our foreign shipping as, if, and when we make rules which put it to a disadvantage, and the Roosevelt Administration is to be congratulated for recognizing and acting on this obvious necessity. Something more than that is necessary, however. If this government is to protect merchant sailors in their right to share the general prosperity, and is to dig into the public treasury for the difference in cost, then it is justified in demanding obedience and good order on their part.

And, finally, comes the contribution of those citizens who trade and travel abroad. No matter what else is done, the American merchant marine cannot be a success without their patronage and support. It is not so much a matter of patriotism as it is of good common sense for Americans to make use of American ships in every possible way. It is even more essential for the country's general welfare than it is to buy American-made goods. We need ships as we need nothing else right now. Lack of them weakens this country's efforts to expand its foreign trade, increase its foreign markets, and thus make room for greater production of those goods and materials of which it has an abundance. Also, lack of them weakens our naval strength. A well-equipped merchant marine is just as essential to a navy as are well-equipped industries to an army. No country can be strong on the sea in time of trouble without the help of such a merchant marine. Look at all we had to do in the World War to get the required number of ships for the transportation of troops and material, and look at what it cost.

ME Tracy



HISTORY IN THE MAKING

More Power to the People

IN TWO unanimous decisions the Supreme Court repudiated legal attacks by the Alabama Power Company and the Duke interests upon the government policy of grants and loans to municipalities for the construction of power plants in competition with private interests. These decisions were a welcome impetus to the New Deal at the very beginning of 1938. And they revealed clearly a new vista of national development destined to influence the whole national economy.

The very unanimity of the decision makes possible the pursuit to conclusion of some 61 public projects held in litigation these past three years. Involved is some \$146,000,000 now awaiting final clearance from injunctive action. PWA reports show that some \$99,000,000 has been allotted for public plants by that organization. Of this total some \$61,000,000 constitutes loans and some \$38,000,000 is in grants. And this was the large amount of liquid capital held in sterility for three years by private corporations illegally challenging the right of the people to receive moneys which the plaintiffs contended came to defendants from illegal sources. That three years of crucial time in the nation's life should be frittered away in the lower courts in deciding a legal question that even the conservative Justice McReynolds characterized as amazing, goes a long way, not only to the discredit of the legal profession, but to prove President Roosevelt's contention that the nation needs speedier court action.

Such prolonged litigation is not only uselessly antagonistic to the people and to their interests but it is costly to the stockholders of private power companies.

And it is strange that now with the people's legal victory the same private

power companies and their subsidized press should speak so freely of the moral obligation implicit in public ownership. Certainly an obligation exists; but it is not moral. In the future an inevitable comparison will be made between the rates and efficiency of publicly owned plants and privately owned systems. For that reason, and no other, accounting of the public projects should be made uniform.

Government loans should be amortized, proper reserves prepared for replacement of obsolescent machinery, and for the sake of accuracy, although it creates an absurd situation, full equivalent taxes of all kinds should be paid the municipality by the municipality. These are the outstanding obligations that should be strictly observed. For in the Government power projects lies, not only a yardstick, but a testing ground for public ownership of utilities. In such a crucial struggle politicians must be curbed; and corruptness must be ruthlessly liquidated.

Seven Billions for the Budget

IMEDIATELY following President Roosevelt's message to Congress the press of the nation was pleased to characterize it as reassuring. Since then, it has been discovered that the message was not so reassuring as discreet. The President stated without ill temper the very objectives to which business as a whole has been so opposed. But even more surprising than this was the calm way in which he informed the nation that it would be impossible to cut the government's outlay "much below seven billion dollars a year without destroying essential functions or letting people starve."

In short, the President envisages a budget permanently stabilized at approximately seven billion dollars. This, in the face of the fact that never in history has the government's income

equaled that amount. Only once did it rise to six billion, and in just three other years did the government's income touch five billion. And it must be remembered that these were rare occasions, indeed,—boom years. Such a staggering sum is eighteen times the budget figures balanced in 1890 when the country's population was at least one-half of what it is today.



The Minnesota Leader

Still, the President justifies his budget prophecy with a well known thesis borrowed from the business men themselves. In the past it has been pointed out that under the capitalist system a one hundred billion dollar national income is not an illusory goal. It can be obtained with the proper juggling of wages and prices. Once attained a permanent national budget of seven billion dollars will be proportionately the same as the post-war budget of four billion dollars was to the seventy billion dollar national income.

However the problem of economy cannot rest upon anticipation of future prosperity. More than any other, President Roosevelt is conversant with the insurmountable difficulties of effecting economies in the face of strong pressure groups. Services once considered temporary have become per-

manent through usage. Thus, day by day, legitimate local expenses are pawned off on the government. Gigantic, and unwieldy centralization has resulted. Now, and in the future, the question of budget balance is firmly linked with the liquidation of this great power and responsibility concentrated in our national government. Not until that fact is faced can anything of lasting value be accomplished towards the solution of the budget problem.

America Enters the Arms Race

THE Panay incident is closed. The Ludlow Amendment, placing the power to declare war in the hands of the people, has been pigeon-holed by the Congress. Still, the poor misguided citizens are obstinately determined to remain aloof from the quarrels in Europe and in Asia.



United Feature Syndicate, Inc.

WE HOPE!

However, in the face of the peoples' will to peace, President Roosevelt and the professional diplomats are pursuing an aggressive, provocative course of action. And there are two reasons for this contradictory situation—one illusory and one practical.

As for the illusion, it embodies every piece of sentimental trash long accumulating in the numerous political clubs and international banking houses where hands across-the-sea to Britain is a professional and lucrative pose. In brief, now that Britain is in danger of losing some of her Empire the American public are being prepared as a rescue party. Corn-fed boys in the Middle West and garbage-fed boys in the cities are being conditioned to save the world for Britain. And this under the guise of saving democracies from the dictator-

ships. But is Britain a true democracy? Is France a true democracy? Canvas the subject races enthralled in the chains of these two imperialistic nations. The negative replies from the masses in India and French Morocco will suffice to refute the claim. Not, of course, that we here in America can waltz before the tribunal of international morality with clean hands. But that is unimportant at the present time with the immediate threat of war with its attendant economic and human loss. We must certainly look to ourselves, and to our defenses.

And that brings us to the second reason for the aggressive foreign policy burgeoning from our State Department—the practical reason. First let it be said at once that the strategical plans of our military and naval organizations do not encompass a foreign engagement. The lessons learned in 1917 of dependence upon British naval power and the covering Allied forces in France have been well learned. Mass troop transport to foreign shores is beyond practical consideration, even with British and French naval aid, because of the present technical efficiency of submarine and airplane warfare.

Nevertheless, we are apparently going to build battleships and auxiliary merchant supply and transport ships under specifications drawn with an eye to foreign warfare. President Roosevelt, has mentioned a billion dollar armament program. It will be expended for heavy armament and will go a long way toward halting the present recession of heavy industry. And further it is presumed that the spectacle of Uncle Sam armed to the teeth standing shoulder to shoulder with Britain will drastically curtail the depredations of the so-called have-not

nations. At all odds the recent South American war scare, the *Panay* incident with its attendant war scare will, in the last analysis, become the New Deal's excuse for following Britain's lead in building internal prosperity upon an armament program. And it has been said often that an armed man is usually a frightened, nervous man and for that reason very likely to pull the trigger. Perhaps this condition also exists among armed nations.



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FEELING THE PULL

China Loses Her Unity

TEN years ago, less a month, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek marched into Nanking from the South and launched himself upon the task of converting the sprawling series of semi-independent war-lords' domains that was China into a national unity. He chased the Communists most of the way around China with lead bullets,



Il 420, Florence.

AS RUSSIA BUILDS A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY
An Italian view of Soviet elections—New members for the party are reported hard to find

brought rival war lords into line with "silver bullets," he built roads, promoted education, and fought the corrupt official "squeeze" with his New Life Movement.

A little over a year ago he was "kidnapped" by Chang Hsueh-liang in a now historic incident. Instead of an immediate rush of greedy rivals to fill his boots, the upshot was a spontaneous national protest against the captor. Chiang Kai-shek returned to Nanking in triumph, with his repentant kidnapper following shamefacedly. The Generalissimo could not have received better evidence of his success in knitting the nation together.

But New Year's 1938 told a different story. Chiang Kai-shek had been forced to flee from his capital; he had resigned as Premier of China. In the hands of alien masters were Peiping, the ancient capital of China, and Tientsin; Kalgan, the capital of Chahar; Kweisui and Paotow in Suiyan, and Taiyuan in Shansi; Tsinan, the capital of Kwantung, had fallen, and Tsingtao, that province's seaport was to fall shortly. Shanghai, the source of revenue and supplies—China's New York—was in Japanese hands; so was Nanking, China's Washington and the symbol of national unity. And Hankow, the rich industrial city and the gateway to the Chinese interior, looked like the next victim. Finally, the invaders were preparing a campaign against Canton in the South, the sole remaining important source of supplies from the outside world.

In short all the physical mechanism of Chinese nationalism has been destroyed. Government has been dispersed. Commerce has been destroyed. And armed resistance has been decentralized; the only strategy now available for the Chinese is that of luring the Japanese into the interior and conducting sporadic guerrilla attacks in an aimless war of attrition.

But Chiang Kai-shek can console himself that the spirit of unity has not yet been vanquished. It remains to hold his retreating troops to their efforts. It remains to balk Japanese attempts to set up pro-Japanese regimes: only the Peiping "Provisional Government of the Republic of China" has so far been established, and it is composed, not of Chinese leaders, but of notorious pro-Japanese puppets whose price is low. And the same Chinese spirit is responsible for the systematic destruction of cities about to be captured—as in Tsingtao and Chinkiang, to name two.

China may not become a white elephant to the Japanese but, even if it does not, it will prove to be an animal whose taming and upkeep will be extremely costly.

M. Delbos' Grand Tour

THE smaller powers of central and eastern Europe are in the unhappy position of being ground between the monolith states, fascist and communist. They enjoy, as compensation, the privilege of holding the balance of power between the democrats and fascists. So the grand tour of M. Yvon Delbos, the French Foreign Minister, to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia provided a useful re-



BET THAT'D SCARE 'IM

port on the European scene; his purpose was to discover the extent of their affection for the Rome-Berlin axis, to reassure them of French designs, and to try to gain additional guarantees of aid in case of war with Germany.

Here is what he discovered:

Poland: More pro-French than expected, despite its authoritarian regime and close relations with Germany. It has no desire to appease Germany's ambitions regarding the Polish Corridor and Danzig; but it would like some colonies itself, a demand which may become a significant pawn in the game of bidding for Polish support. However, the Polish Government would thank the French for keeping out of its private quarrel with Ignace Jan Paderewski over internal matters, and it still regards the pact between France and the hated Soviets with deep suspicion.

Czechoslovakia: Here M. Delbos met his warmest welcome and came away reassured as to the permanence of the friendship between the two countries.

Like the French, the Czechs have a mutual-assistance pact with Soviet Russia; but just now they are relying more upon their own military forces to check a possible attack by Germany. Their chief trouble continues to be the problem of the Sudeten German minority; a solution of it would go far to quiet Europe.

Rumania: This visit was less reassuring, the country being under the personal rule of the pro-German King Carol. As a footnote to M. Delbos' visit, the King appointed as Premier the violently pro-German and anti-Semitic Octavian Goga, whose National Christian party only obtained ten per cent of the votes in the December election. Against this, M. Delbos could observe that the French tie was favored by the people at large, that Rumania was not likely to take any steps that might let Germany at her oilfields, that she was still strongly opposed to Hungarian revisionist claims, and that Rumanian-Russian relations were cool, but not hostile. Rumania would, however, rather not have any French interference in her domestic affairs, particularly as regards the return of the strongly anti-fascist and brilliant M. Titulescu.

Yugoslavia: M. Delbos arrived just after Premier Milan Stoyadinovitch returned from Italy, with whom his government has been carrying on an active flirtation. It is also reported that M. Delbos had to invite himself to Yugoslavia—the present obstacle to the conclusion of a French-Little Entente mutual defense pact. The French Foreign Minister could, however, find consolation in the facts that he appeared to be much more popular in Yugoslavia than M. Stoyadinovitch and that the formation of the Agrarian-Democratic Party last October, uniting the Serb and Croat oppositionists, promised to give the Government a good fight.

M. Delbos could draw the following general conclusions about his trip: French friendship is more valued by the populaces than by their governments, and German economic and political penetration has proceeded apace. Consequently he was unable to get guarantees of action against Germany. He found, too, that the powers concerned had lost all faith in the League of Nations, but they did insist that Great Britain and France should not give the Reich a free hand to the East. On the credit side, he found that the more conservative, pro English France had gained prestige.

Significant Straws in the Winds that Blow from South America

LATIN-AMERICAN NOTES

MEXICAN OIL TRUCE: When the first encounter between the Mexican Government and American oil interests seemed imminent, a truce, at this writing, has come to put off the clash for the time being, and perhaps to slow up the pace of the Mexican nationalization campaign. In a series of successive steps that pointed to a climax, between November 1937 and the beginning of this year, Mexico, bringing to life the famous Article XXVII that had been placed in cold storage by Calles and Morrow, nationalized 350,000 acres of oil lands leased to the Richmond Petroleum Company, a Standard Oil subsidiary, took steps toward placing the entire foreign controlled petroleum industry on a royalty-paying basis, and ordered an increase in the wages of Mexican petroleum workers. Richmond Petroleum filed suits asking for injunctions against nationalization, and in answer to the wage increase ordered by the Mexican Federal Labor Board, the American and British oil companies, controlling about 95 per cent of production, refused to comply with the order, openly defying the Mexican Government. It was up to the Mexican Government, but . . .

Mexico was facing serious fiscal and monetary uncertainties. The rise in Mexican export values, a result of the war boom, had brought a period of "prosperity" early in the year—a very relative prosperity as the wages in many industries were miserably lagging behind prices. And the land division and public works programs had heavily taxed the treasury. The metallic coverage in the Bank of Mexico had gone down from about 62 per cent

at the beginning of August to about 44 per cent in the first week of December. **THE DEAL:** Another factor in this prosperity was the United States silver purchases, which are said to have aggregated more than \$30,000,000 in 1937.

Soon after the nationalization campaign started, the oil interests made use of a threat. If Mexico persisted in pressing them, the United States could discontinue its purchases of Mexican silver. American correspondents urged this step as a means of bringing Cárdenas to terms, and painted a somber picture of what would happen to the Mexican economy without this source of revenue. A change in the Washington silver policy was expected at the beginning of this year, and when the oil interests' threat became a black cloud to Mexican eyes, Eduardo Suárez, the Mexican Finance Minister, hastened to Washington to look for the silver lining.

As a result of his negotiations with American public officials there during the latter part of December, the United States Government announced that it would continue to buy Mexican silver during January on the same terms as before. About the same time, at Mexico City, the Federal Labor Board suspended its decision ordering a wage increase for all the workers until the Mexican Supreme Court makes a ruling on the Companys' request for an injunction.

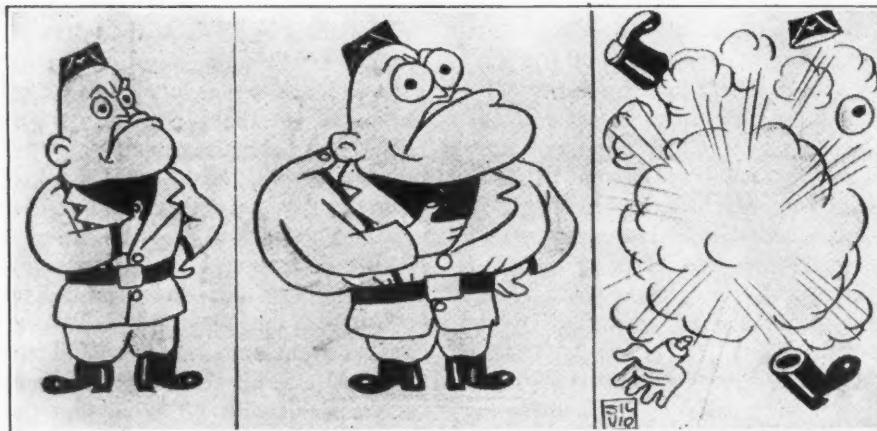
For the second time in the past year, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau has come to the rescue of the State Department to solve a Latin-American puzzle. The first time was when he

fired a \$60,000,000 broadside of American gold against German trade in Brazil last July. This time he is using silver in what looks like a retarding strategy. The joint statement issued on December 31st, 1937, by Secretary Morgenthau and the Mexican Finance Minister Suárez announcing "a mutually satisfactory understanding" on silver, also said that arrangements had been made looking to the continued stability of the peso-dollar exchange.

FOREIGN INTERESTS VS. 16,000,000 MEXICANS: No doubt the Mexicans have availed themselves of the liberal Rooseveltian interlude in Latin-American policy in order to push their plan for the Mexicanization of their economy. Besides, the world situation in the past year offered a favorable juncture for the resumption of that plan.

But, after all, Mexico is fighting the same entrenched interests that today are obstructing progressive Rooseveltian reform in the United States. Secretary Ickes, the other day, in a Demosthenic tirade against those interests here, said that the issue was whether "America's sixty families or America's 120,000,000 people" would prevail. Well, the issue in Mexico is whether a handful of foreign capitalists controlling most of Mexican exportable wealth or 16,000,000 Mexicans will prevail. If such a system is not desirable in the United States, neither is it in Mexico.

There isn't in President Roosevelt's present course the slightest indication that he will pick up the Damocles sword that the United States swayed over Mexico's head from Wilson to Hoover. While he is in power, we don't think there is reason to expect another



Selecta

A South American view of Benito Mussolini's policy of indefinite expansion . . .



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

. . . which, however, Uncle Sam distrusts.

Veracruz landing. Rather, and whether deliberately or not, the present administration's metal-purchasing policy—as was recently acknowledged by President Cárdenas—has supported the Mexican social program.

But this program is yet in its initial stages. Developments in the near future will tell whether pressure by the interests will turn the American silver-buying policy, that so far has been beneficial to Mexico, into a means of persuading Cárdenas to become an amenable *buen vecino* to American entrepreneurs.

Foreign capital in Mexico has been too stubborn in the past for anyone to imagine it can be uprooted in a short time or without much labor. The Mexican revolution will probably move very slowly for generations through open battles, defeats, gains and compromise, before it achieves its final economic aims.

Meanwhile, a policy that, taking the larger view, would let the Mexican Revolution—the biggest stride toward a new order in modern Latin-American history—take its gradual course would be, even from a strictly selfish American viewpoint, a wiser policy than that of throwing against Mexican destiny the might of the United States. For, in the long run, a strong, wealthy, enlightened and ambitious Mexican people, owning and controlling the resources of its own soil, would have far more to give and to take in its economic intercourse with the American people than a perpetually disowned and vacillant nation.

THEY FIGHT FOR OIL: Oil caused it and oil settled it. Ever since Bolivians and Paraguayans stopped killing each other officially, the Chaco War has had an epilogue known in Pan-American parlance as the Chaco Peace, and nearly as long as the war

itself. As the real causes of this conflict had not been removed, the Chaco Peace lingered indefinitely as an unfinished affair.

But now a move by Argentina brings it to a close in an unexpected way. Final peace has not been signed at La Paz or Asuncion. It has been decreed at Buenos Aires by giving landlocked Bolivia an outlet for her oil through Argentina. It was Buenos Aires that about six years ago blocked the Bolivian or rather the Standard Oil's plans when they sought the Argentine land route as an outlet for the newly found Bolivian oil, and later it was also Argentine and allied Paraguayan and British interests that made a stand at the Chaco to prevent the much-feared Standard Oil from gaining a foothold on the banks of the Paraguay River and possibly wrest from them control of that strategic waterway that leads to the Atlantic.

The Guarani warriors of Paraguay checked the invasion of the Aymara hosts from the Bolivian high plateau, and when the fighting was over, Standard did not know what to do with its Bolivian oil. Production was cut down to a minimum, and many wells closed. After protracted and vain peace negotiations, La Paz learned that no other solution was possible than that of accepting the Buenos Aires dictum. The first requirement was to get rid of Standard Oil; and the vast concessions held by the American company there were cancelled by the Bolivian Government last March.

This cleared the way for the reopening of the Argentine land route, which was granted by the Buenos Aires Government a few weeks ago in an accord with Bolivia, and which now comes to remove the main cause of the war—a bit too late. Had some arrangement of the sort been made back in 1932,

the 100,000 lives of Bolivians and Paraguayans who were slaughtered in the mud and reek of the jungle might have been spared, and Bolivia and Paraguay would not be bankrupt today. But then the Argentine and British interests in the Chaco might have been in danger; South-American, particularly Argentine, rulers and diplomats would have missed a very exciting game, and the munitions makers and financiers would not have pocketed tens of millions of dollars.

Incidentally, this Argentine move extends to Bolivia the growing Argentine sphere of diplomatic influence.

LATIN-AMERICAN LABOR: The Latin-American Labor Congress that is soon to gather in Mexico City at the invitation of the CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers) will be the first opportunity offered the Latin-American masses for real action within and without Latin-America in the present world emergency. They will have a chance there—if they know how to avail themselves of it—to close ranks and make their weight felt in the world situation. What is more important, they will have a chance to accomplish what their governments have not been able to accomplish in a hundred years—the setting-up of a Latin-American common front in world problems.

Three tasks await representatives of Latin-American labor in Mexico City: to organize their dislocated and inarticulate anti-fascist elements into a compact fighting unit throughout the territory; to establish a bi-continental Latin-American Labor Federation strong and alert enough to match organized foreign capital and its allies in Latin-American public offices; and to set up a body that will make it its business to expose the deeds of Latin-American dictators and work for their overthrow.



Selecta

A gloomy view of Christmas, including . . .



El Machete

. . . a Mexican fascist threat, to be met by . . .



Todo

. . . Vicente Lombardo Toledano and his CTM.

Letters to

A representative collection of letters from the President's mail, showing what the people are thinking, must necessarily include messages from various parts of the country and from various walks of life—from the barely literate as well as the educated.

There appeared in the White House mail bag the transcript of a rather clever travesty depicting a scene in a local Relief office in a small town. Throughout the scene, "Mr. Poorman," trying to get a little relief for his wife and 13 children, is sent from one desk to another, until he has made the rounds several times. As he finally gives up in despair and starts to leave, the postman enters with the mail. All but "Mr. Poorman" rush to meet him. The interlocution from that point goes like this:

Local Administrator: It's our weekly salaries. Hooray! Hooray! (He takes the fat envelope from the mail; opens it.) \$75 for Jack; \$125 for me; \$85 for Bill; \$100 for George; \$90 for Martha; \$55 for you; and seventeen other \$55 checks for each of the rest of you. And guess what?

All Others, in chorus: What, Charley?

Local Administrator: That leaves exactly \$3.79 to spend on relief.

(Curtain)

From one letter to the President it is learned that several members of the Board of Education of a prominent state interested themselves in the question of aliens on our relief rolls. It seems that they made a rather thorough study of the subject, investigating individual cases. A report, which accompanied the letter, recited many case histories. Some interesting things are discovered. For example, most of the destitute aliens would be glad to be returned to their native countries.

Said the letter:

President of the United States,
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Washington, D. C.
Honorable Sir:

The enclosed report speaks for itself. We trust it will receive your attention.

We have personally examined the cases of hundreds of destitute aliens.

These men do not have much to look forward to except privation or charity (in this country). They are not citizens of the United States, and most of them have property to which they could return in their native countries. They are unable to make the trip because they are without funds. Many of them have wives and near relatives in Europe who are pleading with them to return where economic independence awaits them.

As a nation we are confronted with the serious problem of finding work for those able to work, and most of these men will be a burden upon their various communities for the rest of their lives. If by the expenditure of a hundred dollars, we could make each of them happy, and, at the same time, save several hundred dollars a year, it would seem from an economic standpoint that it would be a desirable procedure.

Sincerely yours,

A business man gets something off his chest:

Dear President Roosevelt:

It becomes plain to me that the Government is giving me a run around regarding its purchase of materials in this state. I have talked to the state officials and they claim that they are under orders from Washington; Washington claims that the state has full authority. Now I wish to know just where and how I can arrive at my correct destination.

For years I have paid taxes and have cooperated with Government officials at all times, just to be made a fool of at a time like this. Where does the money come from to carry on the emergency functions? From the taxpayers. The livelihood of the Government comes principally from the people in the same financial shape as myself. The Government has bled us until we are broke, and are now rubbing it in by forgetting us.

My family and I have always voted the Democratic ticket, but now that the purchases of material show the lack of efficiency of the leaders of the party, I believe that I will change my political affiliations.

All my men but one have had to apply for relief, and I probably will be an applicant for charity before the winter is over. Of course, all the Government officials should be commended for this method of depriving a business man of his fair and just living.

Very truly yours,

From Florida comes a complaint about relief policies:

My dear President:

Your private secretary's letter was received, and I was deeply disappointed. Apparently she did not discuss with you my previous letter. Nor did she discuss my letter with any one else.

A grant of my two petitions—an immediate increase in compensation for unskilled labor under the WPA here to \$10.00 a week, and a loan and grant of sufficient funds to construct our three missing highway bridges—would have been a wonderful Christmas present to this stranded community.

I presume, though, that it is useless to plead further for a living wage for the unskilled laborers here employed on Works Progress projects. Perhaps it means nothing to the highly paid administrative personnel in Washington that some 7,000 to 8,000 people here are being murdered by slow starvation. But it is possible that their pleading cries may be heard throughout the nation before the next election.

A loan for the building of our missing highway bridges would furnish all the unemployment relief this community needs, and the completed bridges would serve as a rehabilitation measure. Why is this practical solution of our problem denied while money continues to be wasted here on useless and non-essential projects?

Sincerely yours,

An amazing statement is made about the management of the government-sponsored rural communities:

My dear President:

I think you ought to know something about the —— Community, started and run by the FERA from Wash-

the President

ton. Whoever thought of this may have had high ideals, but the Washington bunch who are running it apparently have different ideas.

I got a look at a copy of the official balance sheet, and was so surprised that I copied it so that I could report it to you. This is just a small community with just a few people, as you know, —but, from the balance sheet, one would think it is a millionaire business. Who the people are who get the listed salaries is a mystery which somebody who can be trusted ought to look into.

ADMINISTRATIVE SALARIES

Executive	\$ 4,605.57
Sub-executive	5,381.00
Engineer	7,042.26
Architect	5,483.66
Surveyor	6,899.83
Accountant	8,441.78
Timekeeper	1,605.70
Personnel	1,729.58
Attorney	925.00
Social Service.....	3,450.26
Purchasing Agent.....	404.16
Other	228.00
Total	\$46,196.80

Looks like ghosts on the pay roll. The people getting this \$46,196.80 are not in —, and the Washington boys who come around occasionally are getting big salaries on the Washington FERA pay roll. So who gets the \$46,196.80?

But that is not all. Traveling expenses on the same balance sheet totaled \$8,989.15. No one connected in any way with — could be doing that much traveling. \$8,989.15 would do a lot of traveling.

And still that is not all. An official in Washington, one who passed upon the amounts to be set aside for —, asked the community corporation to put him on the pay roll as general counsel at \$6,000.00 per year. If he gets away with this from all five rural communities under FERA, that makes him \$30,000.00 per year besides his big Washington salary.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that this ought to be looked into.

Respectfully yours,

Just a little of the good earth:

President Roosevelt, Sir:

I want to tell you that I have written to the Farm Administration, and I think if they will help us to get the

items I mentioned that will take care of us. We can work and take care of ourselves on our little farm, if the Government will loan us two or three hundred dollars for about 3 years. We sure will feel so much better to feel we are taking care of ourselves. I hope you will see as we wish you to, and know, for it is so hard to have to take charity when you have always been self-supporting, and rated so. I beg to remain

Sincerely yours,



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT —"

A helpful citizen looks forward to the time when Federal Relief is no more:

Dear President Roosevelt:

We successfully worked a plan here in this city which took care of needy families by using up all surplus farm products. During the year and a half we operated, we gave 75,000 meals to needy persons. Then the Federal government took over Relief.

When the Federal government is through with Relief and returns it to the localities, I have a plan that will enable every city government to save thousands of dollars every year in relief funds.

I would like to take this plan up with you in the near future. I will bring a letter from our mayor and secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, stating what I have done here to help things along in these distressing times.

Hoping to have a favorable reply, I remain

Respectfully yours,

He is working now:

My Dear friend Roosevelt:

I am writing you a few lines to let you know that I am working now. Since I wrote to you I have gone to work and I can make my way all right now without any loan. Thank you very so kind.

Your friend,

Droll:

Since my mother's death, my little brother is left without a leg.

Appreciation:

Dear Mr. President Roosevelt:

My husband has been given 2 days per week work since my previous letter. Last week the supervisor of the project was here—a charming person—and she is expecting to get me some light work as she thinks eventually my husband will get back in the — Shop. May God only grant that this comes true.

I do not know if Our dear President has anything to do with my troubles but I have been helped quite some, especially today. I received a blanket, nightie, 8 towels (different kinds), and for my 13 yrs. old girl I got pajamas, panties, and a slip. Believe me when I say I did not know what it was to have such nice warm things and whoever sent them I hope and pray that God may Bless them a thousand fold. Last week a poor old man who just lost his wife brought me her nice warm coat. Now don't you think I have a great deal to be thankful for?

Now maybe if things keep up, in due time I may be able to make a trip to N. Y. with my daughter to visit the cemetery.

I have or had a brother about 44-45 yrs. old who was in the last war, I believe as an aviator. I have not seen or heard from this boy since the day he returned home from across sea. His name is —. Could you in any possible way get me his address if he is alive. If he is dead, which I hope not, would I be able to get his bonus. When our parents died we all drifted apart, and oh how I would love to hear from him.

I thank Our dear President, Wife, and also Mr. McIntyre for all your kindness and beg you for a most welcome answer. Thank You and God Bless You All.

I am,

LAND OF PLENTY

This business of eating regularly has had its complications as far back as time itself

By REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

THE classical empires seem to have violated the axiom that activities other than agriculture cannot be developed until there is a surplus of food. Farming then had advanced so little over its earliest primitive methods that adequate sustenance could be insured only by systems of exaction. The rural population, impoverished and often enslaved, frequently revolted; and even in periods of comparative quiet, there existed no such stable peasantry as later nations had. Only in the last few centuries have workers in the fields and vineyards gradually become free; and only in present years have they attained any considerable economic dignity.

In this, the people of primitive times were probably better off than were those in what we like to call the "civilizations" of Egypt or Greece. For primitive people can hardly have suffered more than did the early slaves; or, for that matter, than the medieval serfs, or even the peasants of the seventeenth century. Anthropologists used to be fond of correlating types of culture, such as "patriarchal," "matriarchal," and the like, with contemporary systems of land cultivation. Later writers are more sceptical of these grand generalizations; but there is an obvious connection between a nomadic, or even a pastoral, agriculture and the development of such a patriarchy as existed among the Hebrew tribes, just as there is a similar show of reason for matriarchy among the settled, village-living Indians of the southwestern United States. And an impoverished and servile food-producing class goes far to explain the ultimate weaknesses of Greece and Rome.

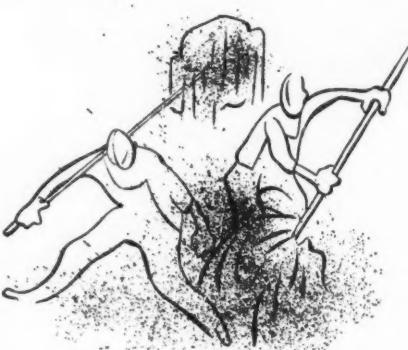
Even if caution seems advisable in generalizing, there are certain other obvious influences of the food supply on primitive customs and tabus as well as on later more civilized, social behavior: flesh, fish, milk, eggs, fowl, and many other kinds of food have been forbidden among some peoples; and where groups have survived, their dietary laws have also persisted along with other ceremonial observances.

That certain natives in the French Congo abhor milk, that Tuaregs reject fish and eggs, that Tasmanians will eat no flesh—these customs have had no continuing importance. But the Hebrew rejection of pork, the Mohammedan avoidance of spirits, and the Roman Catholic rejection of flesh on days of abstinence are instances which

etary changes. Meat was the chief food in the archaic period when pastures were plenty, towns small, and population not too crowded. Homer's heroes were great meat-eaters; their descendants ate cereals and fish instead of meat. A Greek humorist could have made a good deal of the accompanying change in attitude. For flesh, which was once despised, came into repute as it grew so scarce as to be available only to the rich.

The Greek pastures were over-worked, probably, and, in consequence, eroded. What was more serious was the limited amount of arable land which caused the city states, as population grew, to look for their grain abroad. The insuring of supplies and fair prices for them came to be a considerable governmental problem. There was a gradual evolution from the encouragement of free trade and the suppression of monopoly to the actual taking over of the supply-function—a practice which some modern nations may have to repeat if they continue the pursuit of self-sufficiency. Athens, for instance, turned from the close supervision of free merchants to sending out procurers, provided with funds, into distant corn markets. No city, from the third century on, kept to the old system; all had official importers. At Samos the food supply was bought with a fund provided by extraordinary taxation. In Sicily there were three bodies of officials: buyers, receivers, and wardens. These last were the state's distributing agents. Under the Greco-Egyptian monarchy, there was the still further development possible in a country which produced its own grain: the state organized the storage and sale of produce; it provided the means of transport; and, by managing the expert monopoly, it kept prices at a profitable level for farmers.

The Romans had a better agrarian policy. Small peasant proprietorships were their ideal; and, under their administration, these began to spread throughout the Mediterranean basin. They also discovered rotation, an idea which did not advance far in Roman



reveal the connection between primitive cultural development and the food supply as well as the persistence of customs relating to the diet. Farmers are conservative folk when it comes to changes in technique or in kinds of crops; but the peculiarly slow evolution of agriculture owes something, also, to the conservatism of consumers.

As the peoples around the Mediterranean gathered themselves, in successive eras, into powerful states whose literary and artistic remains we regard as so precious, there lay at their basis changes in food production which at once made them possible and furnished their greatest dangers. In Egypt the annually renewed Nile soils were so rich that the single crop grown there in classical times—wheat—could not exhaust them; and production was great enough so that part of it could be extorted from the peasants for the support of city artisans and a leisure class. Yet, in spite of an elaborate system of royal granaries, famines were frequent in years when the floods failed. Ultimately, however, they went some distance toward the prevention of famine.

The evolution of Hellenic culture was accompanied by remarkable di-

times, but lay dormant in such far-away places as Flanders and Britain for a thousand years before its logic was finally worked out and fallows were abandoned in favor of roots and legumes. The great difficulty in later Roman times was the exhaustion of the capitals' own immediate hinterland and consequent dependence on imported supplies. Characteristically the great grain regions closest at hand were conquered and enslaved. The conflict with Carthage was a grain war for the mastery of Sicily. And the extent to which Rome came to depend on Egypt is indicated by Tacitus: "Whoever made himself master of Alexandria, with the strongholds which by sea and land were the keys to the whole province, might with a small force, make head against the power of Rome, and blocking up the plentiful corn country, reduce all Italy to a famine." Literally, this was true.

Feudal Deficiencies

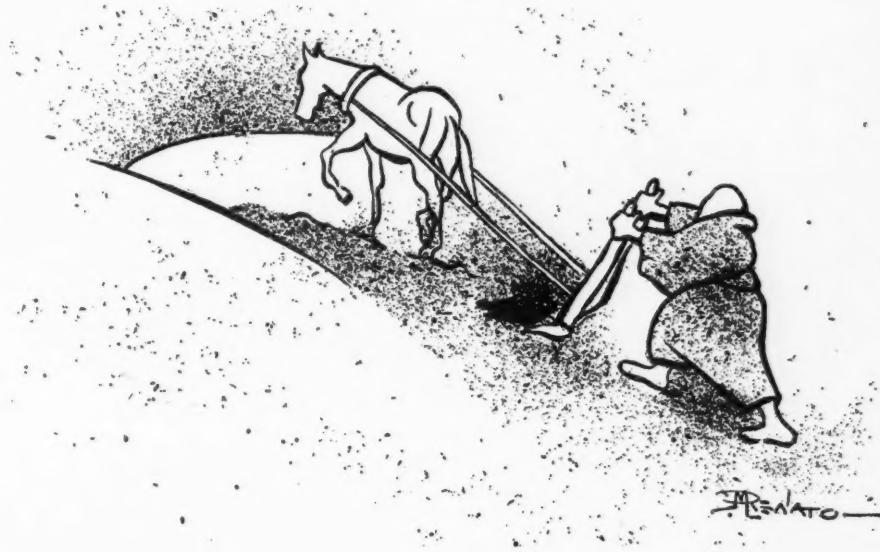
The barbarians who swept down on Rome had only the crudest notions of husbandry; their victory brought with it a decline in the rural arts which the succeeding ten centuries scarcely sufficed to make good. For the Roman system of peasant proprietorships, which was, of course, mostly an ideal, but which, with excellent administration, was spreading slowly, broke down everywhere, and what followed was something less good: feudalism, a local coalescing which had more to do with physical protection than with an adequate supply of food.

The feudal ideal was self-sufficiency—such sufficiency as there was. The manorial organization has been described too often to need repetition. But it may be recalled, particularly, that open-fields were the rule from Southern England to Alsace. The cultivated lands were divided usually into two, rarely into three, parts. Some cereal, usually wheat, rye or barley, was planted in these fields alternately; in the odd year they lay idle. The list of crops grown was very short: the three cereals together with peas and beans and a few green vegetables, to be eaten in their season.

Medieval towns were small. Only a few were so large as to draw supplies from more than a day's mule-ride away. They fitted nicely behind their walls, and outside there were, instead of suburbs, artisans' gardens. The diet was necessarily scanty for town or country dweller, especially in winter when only dried or salted foods were available.

Meals were eaten at most twice a day until Elizabeth's time; and it would not be far wrong to guess that most common wooden bowls were filled with puddings and stews to be eaten with bread and beer. But there were, as has been noted, differences in agricultural practice here and there which, when the Renaissance swept out of the South and East of Europe into the North and West, were to communicate themselves gradually and to have star-

till then could animal husbandry really become important. The great lack, in medieval times, was a succulent winter food for both men and animals. The great scourges, the scurvy, and the fevers which periodically decimated the populations of Europe were only partly caused by insanitation; another cause was malnutrition. But, given cabbage for kraut, the Germans could live through the winter and multiply; and given fresh meat, milk, and tur-



pling cumulative results. The difference it made to the English that, in the seventeenth century, turnips, clovers and cabbages found their way first into gardens and then into the fields, is measured, perhaps, by what we call the industrial revolution which the agricultural revolution made possible. For by the middle of the eighteenth century the enclosures, the new arable techniques, and the abandonment of fallows had transformed rural England. And, besides, the potato had now made its way from Indian culture in the Andes to Spain, to Germany and to England. And within fifty years the sugar-beet was to make a further transformation of the diet possible. Taken together, the new variety of crops and their increased yields began to banish the famines which until then had frequently decimated populations—though this victory was not to be complete until the age of steam; Malthus, in the nineteenth century, still counted them an important population factor.

Food and the Industrial Revolution

When England was merry its people were known as beef-eaters; but that was only after the turnip and the clovers had crossed the channel. For not

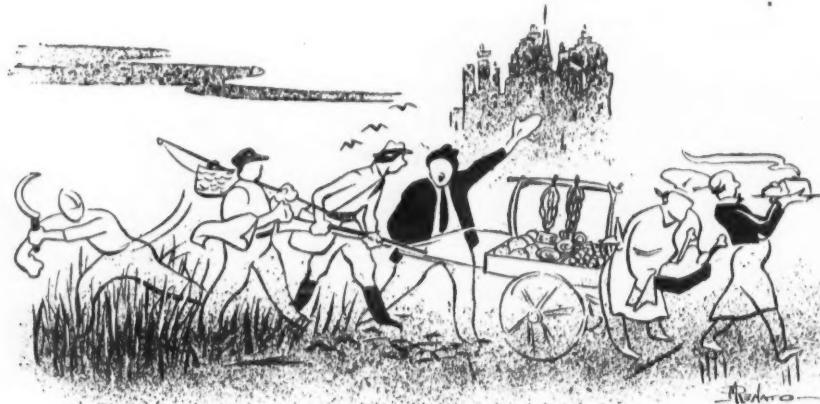
nips, the English could revolutionize their industry, build cities, and establish a world-wide empire.

The greatest food gift to the world was perhaps wheat; but one could easily argue for the potato; and still a better case could be made for maize. Both these last had to wait for America's discovery. But from the first settlements Americans had maize, and the potato came to North America in the Pilgrim's cargoes. The new world had all of Europe's experience to draw on; but she also had new land—and maize. Nevertheless, any further transformation in farming methods was impossible until the age of chemistry and machines, of quick communication, and of the revelation of the hidden hungers which starve men with full bellies. It is out of these basic conditions that the new agricultural revolution is developing.

Clapham, writing just after the Great War, observed that the nineteenth was a century of accelerating change. He was writing of France but the reasons he gave are applicable everywhere: the accumulating effect of the revolutions which removed customary and legal hindrances to change; the increased vitality of a race lifted out of misery; and improvements in com-

munication. The tempo of change has accelerated now, until there are far fewer places where a medieval peasant would feel at home. Indeed, the insistent theme of rural philosophers that farming is less a business than a way of life, begins to have a homesick undertone. For the self-sufficiency and isolation of the rural community have everywhere been weakened if not destroyed. The farm is becoming an adjunct of the factory, merely one

by the full technical resource of science and industry. But measured in diet and levels of living it is still costly. The discovery that an urban and sedentary people ought to consume less meat, alcohol, and wheat took no account of dictators' wishes—nor of farmers' either, for that matter. The increased uses of dairy products, tropical fruits, beverage-berries, and oils, the expanded consumption of sugar and preserved or fresh vegetables were determined by



source of raw materials; and the organization of agriculture has, for the first time in history, to be regarded not as a great given principle of society but as something which is instrumental to more important social aims, and therefore subject to scrutiny. The rural arts are no longer sacred, except to backward-looking politicians. The farms are required to produce what we want; we no longer merely take what they prefer to give us. In the Western world, city populations are now greater than rural ones, and city standards are, in consequence, supplanting the older traditional ones of country life. This urban dominance is rapidly working out its political consequences. Farmers get less and less support for the protection of their privilege to be inefficient just because they have a traditional way of life. They are required to adjust themselves to the going prevalence of science and machines; and great, of course, is the anguish, and many are the crises which accompany this reversal.

Self-Sufficiency Is Costly

The modern problem of the food supply has to be stated in terms which are wholly irrelevant to locality. Self-sufficiency, even though it serves as an ideal for certain nations, is suspected even there because of its sheer cost. It is clung to tenaciously, and protected with the apparatus of diplomacy and tariffs; it is also backed

adjustments among the masses of consumers, who were gradually enlightened concerning their own needs. But the new diet is one which cannot be supplied in any one region; the whole world must cooperate to supply every individual's daily needs if he is to be kept in that health and vigor which we seem to have determined to create and preserve even if human activity comes to no further end. The irreducible necessity involved in this purpose is access to the world's food resources; quick and unhindered transport to local markets; and an ability among consumers to share in the diet thus provided. This is an undertaking of such magnitude as to make it seem not at all strange if a long time should be required to approximate it. It denies so many old privileges, reduces so many customs and rights to absurdity, and conflicts with so many faiths—religious, political and economic—that no one should be surprised at determined opposition in many places, accompanied by national upsets, even wars, before even a good measure of the achievement is accomplished. Yet no one, even those who throw up the barriers, and provide the occasions of conflict, is so hardy as to set himself in theoretical opposition to the general purpose.

Farmers Caught in "The Scissors"

Throughout the era of industrialism and political democracy, governments have been faced insistently with the

problem of reconciling the interests of the rural population with those of city people. Until the nineteenth century in Britain and the twentieth century in the United States, France, and Germany, the farmers still outnumbered all other classes. They consequently had a political strength which is gradually being lost today. Indeed, in no country now, with a few exceptions such as Denmark, and temporarily the United States, because of the peculiar organization of our Senate, are farmers apt to prevail in the numerous crises of this long struggle. The economist's new measuring tools have made clearer how acute these differences are, and how weak the farmers have become. The problem, in market terms, is defined as "the scissors," which means the relative power of farmers in the exchange of their produce for the goods of others, and the serious decline, over a long period, of their purchasing power. In the attempt to satisfy both groups of claimants on the national income, most governments have been forced, in recent years, to some measures of relief. In the United States various surplus-control measures have been vigorously pushed on the theory that price disadvantages arose from over-supply. Opponents have argued as vigorously that what is needed is lower costs so that farmers may prosper even with lower prices. In other countries similar proposals have been met with more or less the same answer.

The Great War precipitated the more modern phase of this struggle by interrupting trade, depopulating the farms, and setting up clamorous demands for cheap food. Controls were set up everywhere of which a good type was the United States Food Administration, which fixed minimum farm prices, set up maximum differentials in marketing, and enforced transport preferences. Farmers prospered moderately and expanded their production; but at the end of the War, with the world's enhanced productive capacity again flooding its markets, and with a period of deflation setting in, agriculture entered a serious and prolonged period of depression. It was made worse by the cumulative results of increased productive efficiency, most of which was fostered by governments and universities. Various sciences of plant and animal breeding, pathology, chemistry, and the like had increased production in various ways; perhaps as important as any was the new technique of dry-farming. There are numerous areas in the world, most of

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them in the lee of rain-catching mountains such as the Caucasus and the Rockies, which had been agriculturally worthless, or nearly so, because of semi-aridity. At present all these regions are producing food—at a terrific expense of wasted soil, it is true, but nevertheless producing it. The consequence of expanded areas and increased yields for the time, at least, has been great surpluses of staple foods—and that too when vast numbers of consumers are turning away from the old staples and adopting the reduced diets suitable to sedentary life. Agricultural production, for instance, in the United States, was 14 per cent greater in the period 1922-26 than in the period 1917-27—an increase 50 per cent more rapid than that of population—and this on a declining area of crop land, with fewer farmers, and with grain consumption diminished by the substitution of tractors for horses. The same phenomenon, sometimes to a greater, and sometimes to a less, degree has been evident in other regions, but especially, of course, in Russia, in Africa, and in South America.

The Conquest of Hunger

There is something both magnificent and tragic in this campaign against man's most ancient and pressing enemy—hunger. The conquest is not yet consolidated, of course, but the techniques of the agricultural arts and of quick transport already run faster than the multiplication of mouths to be fed. What remains to be done is the most difficult task of all and will consequently be the last achievement in the general evolution toward universal plenty. We have not yet learned how to make new food supplies available to all. No country, not even the United States, can assume the ultimate pride of having abolished starvation. What remains to be done lies in the field of social management. The Greeks and Romans had the world to themselves—they could draw for food on vast areas of primitive farming without much organized resistance. Today the exploitation of backward areas is a matter of bargaining and compromise among many claimants. Because of dietary and technical changes, self-sufficiency, however, is just as impossible now as it was then. Markets not only for salt, spices, and luxury goods, but for many bulky staples, are international. Governments are necessarily faced with increasingly complex problems of adjustment; their nationals have not only to sell but also to buy.

It is no wonder that almost first among the problems of statesmanship are these which have to do with this commerce: how shall tariffs be adjusted? how shall credits be arranged? how far can nationals be protected in selling, buying or collecting debts? No less a problem of statesmanship is involved in internal policy-making: Shall farmers be protected from price-competition? How far ought governments to go in specific encouragement of special cultures? Ought production or marketing to be controlled? Shall more



or less vigorous standards of quality be set up and enforced? All these and many more are persistently pressing.

Modern problems are in a way different and in a way similar to those which always existed. Populations are denser and more urban; diets are more varied and depend on further sources; customs of producing, of distributing, even of consuming have changed radically. Nearly every country in the western world has for the moment solved the crude problem of the food supply: no fear is felt in times of peace that there may be famine. But nationalist aims have been allowed to shape policy so that diets have been inadequate; and standards of living have been kept down by an apportionment of income which has kept whole classes in poverty. In the United States a really good diet would require a doubling, as well as a rearranging of crop production, a situation which is as true of other countries. But these are difficulties with the social system rather than with ways of producing. If we run short of food it will be because consumers are unable to buy what the farmer has to sell, not because our land, our people or our distributive mechanisms have failed us.

Diet and Civilization

We may expect, once present objectives are shaped into administrative mechanisms, that interest will shift

to dietary control. It will look to an enlarged use of animal and dairy products, a decrease in the consumption of cereals, and a more varied supply of green fruits and vegetables. It will also set up warnings against over-processed food materials which attract the eye and the taste but undermine the health through a shortage of natural minerals, organic chemical compounds, vitamins, and bacteria. Out of nutrition laboratories there will come the determining facts for future policy.

Before the word "vitamin" was invented the economist Patten was accustomed to speak of "nutrins." He had always been interested in the sequence which ran from secure food supplies to better nutrition and from there on to what he called the "creative economy." It seemed to him an understandable development. He borrowed from psychologists and physicians; but he generalized as an economist, showing how the pulse of better blood fed nerve and gland and how the perfectly grown and nourished body-structure set the conditions for harmonious adjustment to the world—and for changing it as well. What civilization might become if it were shaped by a well-fed generation he did not attempt to predict; but it was clear to him that it would be strange to us—and inevitably better.

An adequate supply of nutrins does not involve merely full stomachs, it means stomachs filled with stuffs which yield good blood. Much of our action is internally determined. We do not always react in stereotyped ways to exterior stimuli; many times we actually act rather than react. The sum of these actions and reactions we call institutions and our institutions are us—not any one of us but all of us. Thus society runs its life-lines back to its supply of food and requires of its farmers, its organizing services, its governmental policy, the guardianship of its nutrins. This is the first duty of statesmanship in industry and government. And if the terms have changed and raised the tests of sufficiency, there is still the fundamental duty to the race which all of us must face. We seem to forget it in many of the exigencies of profit-making or of struggles for place. And we have neglected to set the proper safeguards of public policy about it. But those are perhaps only the lags between knowledge and accomplishment with which we are familiar in many fields. Our policy will catch up and require conformance.

COLORS CHANGE IN CHINA

By RANDALL GOULD

CHINA'S action in signing a treaty of mutual non-aggression with Soviet Russia one week after the beginning of Sino-Japanese hostilities at Shanghai is a belated, grudging, and negative admission of past error. Yet nevertheless it represents the start of another curve in the erratic graph of relationships between China and the U.S.S.R., and as an initiation of policy bound to have vital bearing in the Far East for years to come, it deserves thoughtful consideration.

Again China is set on the line established with signature of the Koo-Karakhan treaty of mutual recognition at Peking in 1924. Correspondingly the thoroughly capitalistic, essentially conservative National Government of China is pointed away from the cool-to-hostile policies which have prevailed with reference to Russia since General Chiang Kai-shek established this government at Nanking in 1927 and overthrew the strongly pro-Soviet policies of the Canton and Hankow (or "Wuhan") governments immediately preceding it.

Yet this is far from saying that Nanking has fallen into Soviet arms, or that Russia has wholeheartedly thrown itself into a position of supporting China actively against Japan as a common foe. Both parties are obviously of the opinion that they are embarked on a liaison of convenience rather than an affair of the heart, and neither is in the least inclined to let uncurbed emotions of friendship carry it into incautious commitments. China, in fact, has promptly gone to such lengths as to make special disclaimer of the existence of any "secret clauses" which would put teeth into a document saying, on the face of it, virtually nothing. For all that the new treaty does is pledge each not to engage in any aggressive acts against the other, and since neither had any apparent remostest intention of engaging in such acts, the sole effect of the treaty must be confined to the moral sphere which is an exceedingly nebulous sphere indeed where international relations are concerned.

The Chinese have even, in the purity

of their hearts, gone so far as to communicate to the Japanese Government their complete readiness to sign with Japan an identical non-aggression treaty. Since at the very moment of this offer, Chinese troops were hailing shells and machine-gun bullets into the forces of the Naval Landing Party in Hongkew, and Japanese airplanes off warships in the Whangpoo were dumping tons of high-explosive on every Chinese strategic point in the Shanghai vicinity, this is not devoid of its humorous aspect, providing one has that sort of a sense of humor. But no war had been declared nor had diplomatic relations between Japan and China been severed, although through the withdrawal of diplomatic officials these relations had ceased to exist—a nice point, but one which can be detected after some searching. Moreover, anything that the Chinese were doing in a military way was avowed to be in defense against Japanese aggression, whereas the Japanese were most specific that their own military enterprises were strictly in the way of "self-defense"; so, neither being in any way pressing a campaign against the other, it would seem that a treaty of mutual non-aggression might at any time have been signed by China and Japan without in the least impairing the earnestness of the military hostilities since the diplomatic *entente* was not being jeopardized, to begin with!

On the Russian side, the Soviet Union has for years sought to conclude a non-aggression treaty with Japan, only to meet with repeated though unexplained rebuffs. Presumably the Russian offer holds as good today as it has in years past, and if the Japanese attitude should soften, Russia would be in the odd position of having signed treaties with both belligerents at a time when they were engaged in active warfare and when Russia, as the third chief Far East Power, might well be expected to choose sides rather than to smoke a pipe of peace with both. It is not at all an impossible situation. But, though China would have herself alone to thank for it, just as Japan has herself alone to thank for whatever measure of get-together has been

achieved between China and Russia, it is certain the Chinese would not greatly relish such a development for they crave help from somebody, anybody, to the very depths of their being, and they are already considerably annoyed that the United States and others have not taken forceful action to give them some sort of leg-up out of the swamp into which their quarrel with Japan has pushed them. They are willing to fight, doggedly and for an indefinite time, but they are still dazed at the notion that no one is helping them actively. Russia's action in signing the non-aggression treaty was seized upon as at least one sign of friendship from abroad, though it is reported in circles ordinarily well-informed that the treaty was thrust upon China by Russia as a minimum first step to display Chinese good intent before any sort of other assistance could possibly be expected out of the U.S.S.R.—and this accompanied by no pledge that such assistance would be forthcoming, in any event.

Early Negotiations

It is interesting to trace the graph of Sino-Soviet relationship. Declarations by the then young U.S.S.R. in 1919 and 1920 had sought the establishment of diplomatic entente and authorizing control by Chinese of all Russian rights and interests in China. But the Chinese Government took an extremely literal view of the 1919 Declaration of Renunciation, mutual suspicion developed, it appeared that L. M. Karakhan might leave Peking after fruitless negotiations without coming to any agreement, and Dr. C. T. Wang went to Japan in late 1923 on a mission ostensibly to inquire into the killing of Chinese after the great Tokyo-Yokohama earthquake disaster but actually, it was rumored, to put pressure on Mr. Karakhan and to reach an understanding between China and Japan on Russian matters. This object was not attained but an embarrassing dispute arose when in November of 1923 the heads of eight principal Chinese educational institutions wrote to Mr. Karakhan about the renounced Russian Boxer Indemnity, which they

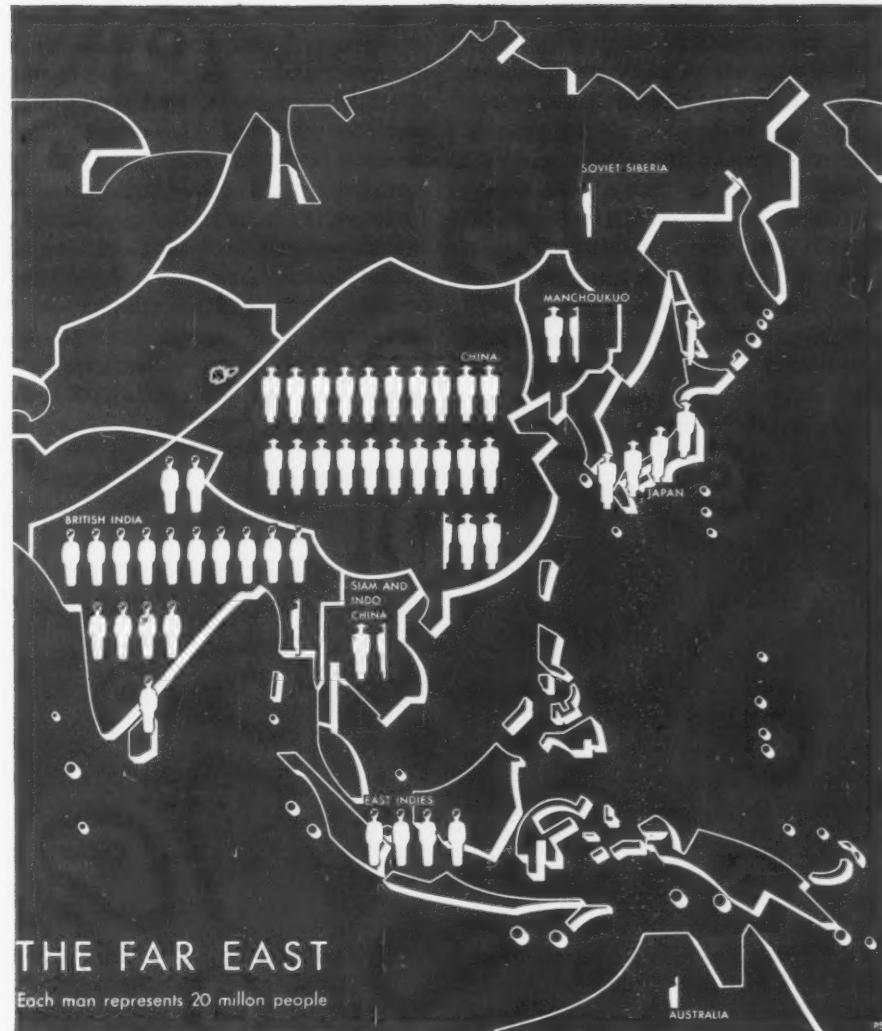
indicated was to be used by the Chinese Government for payment of its diplomatic and consular officials abroad. Mr. Karakhan accepted the request of the educators that the money should be used for educational purposes and seized the opportunity to point out that while the indemnity had been renounced by the 1919 Declaration, the Chinese Government had not only ignored this note but continued to participate in military intervention against Russia.

Finally on March 14, 1924, Mr. Karakhan and Dr. Wang signed a preliminary agreement providing for re-establishment of normal diplomatic and consular relations, including the handing over to Soviet authorities of the ex-zaïst legation and consular buildings, and for opening a conference for detailed arrangements. Through April and May there were rumors that negotiations had been resumed between the Waichiaopu (Foreign Office) and the Soviet Mission, but after emphatic denials there was a Waichiaopu communiqué announcing that on May 31 Dr. Wellington Koo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Karakhan had signed a treaty of mutual recognition embodying various declarations referring to such matters as the renunciation of extraterritorial privilege for Russians in China and joint operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway in North Manchuria.

Mr. Karakhan became the first Soviet Ambassador to China, and in fact the first ambassador to China of any description—a matter of immediate and somewhat ludicrous interest to the diplomatic corps in Peking, up to that time consisting exclusively of ministers who suddenly found themselves outranked by the suave and handsome black-bearded new occupant in Legation Quarter.

From Coolness to Hostility

But as government followed government in Peking through an era of obvious decadence and disintegration of what Eugene Chen has called the "northern mandarinate," warlords such as General Wu Pei-fu, Marshal Tuan Chi-jui (for a time accorded dubious *de facto* recognition as "provisional chief executive"), and finally Marshal Chang Tso-lin of Mukden, all manifested an attitude toward the Soviet authorities verging from cool to hostile. Finally, a short time after Mr. Karakhan had decided to return to Moscow for a stay of indefinite duration, Marshal Chang—recently moved from Manchuria into Peking and hailed



by the relieved foreign diplomats as a strong man perhaps due to bring real rule to China—obtained secret consent of the ministers to conduct a raid on the western portion of the Soviet Embassy—the so-called "military compound," living quarters and club—in the spring of 1927, just three years after the establishment of formalized relations. Nineteen of Chang's political enemies were found as refugees, taken away and strangled, while large quantities of documents of debatable value were seized. Some of these, published afterward, seemed clearly to be White Russian forgeries, since they employed obsolete letters no longer used in the Soviet alphabet; on the other hand it is entirely possible that some things disclosed Soviet activities in China. At any rate, the Soviet chargé d'affaires was promptly recalled. Meanwhile, Michael Borodin, as high adviser to the Canton revolutionary government, as well as General Galen (Blucher) as chief military adviser and a host of other Russian experts had been helping the southerners to stage a victorious drive to the Yangtze; but with the establishment of a Nanking government under General Chiang Kai-shek,

supported by Shanghai business interests, and the overthrow of the "Wuhan government" at Hankow, the Soviet influence was definitely broken, while at the same time the Chinese Kuomintang or Nationalist Party expelled its Communist elements. The final break between the new Nationalist Government and Soviet Russia so far as diplomatic matters were concerned came in December of 1927, ostensibly as a result of communist riots in Canton. Soviet representatives together with some businessmen were expelled from the country, yet although North China had been the scene of earlier difficulties, Soviet consular officials nevertheless continued to function there while Chinese consular officials kept on in Soviet Russia. This was typical of the rather crabwise fashion in which all Sino-Russian affairs seem traditionally to have progressed.

Selling the C. E. R.

Russia's sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, or, more accurately, of her own rights in that railway, constitutes the next important step. Article VI of the May 31, 1924 agreement had stated that China and Russia "mutually

pledge themselves not to permit, within their respective territories, the existence and/or activities of any organization or activities of any organization or groups whose aim is to struggle by acts of violence against the Government of either Contracting Party." Both parties subsequently complained of violations by the other. A raid was staged by the Chinese in 1929 upon the Soviet Consulate at Harbin. China professed to have gained evidence that the Third International was operating through the railway and consulate, and on July 11, 1929, the Chinese dismissed the Soviet general manager and assistant manager and took charge of the entire line as an "emergency measure."

Russia was not slow to reply, retaliating with a 72-hour ultimatum and the concentration of large military forces on the border, thereby forcing a unilateral settlement despite Chinese importunities for a mixed commission of inquiry. Russia reestablished control, but there was to be a conference for general settlement; but Russia seemed to the Chinese only willing to consider a recognition of the situation then prevailing. The conferences finally broke up in 1931 through the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, which resulted in Chinese withdrawal from this whole area at a time when Russia was feeling far from disposed to stand up for Chinese interests in addition to her own. In other words, the Russians were by this time considerably "fed up," concerned with their own relations with Japan, convinced that the Chinese were undependable and evasive, and inclined to feel that the Chinese Eastern Railway—formerly of immense strategic importance through its T-shape straddling over North Manchuria—was more a liability than an asset if Japan were to be left by China to exercise a free hand both in South and in North Manchuria.

Thus early in 1933 it began to be rumored that the U.S.S.R. was willing to sell out to Japan. The Chinese Waichiaopu sent a statement out on May 9, declaring that the only parties concerned in the C.E.R. were China and Russia. This was followed up four days later by a lengthy Nanking protest to Moscow. Realistic Russia manifested no sign of interest whatever, and on March 11, 1935, a transfer agreement between Soviet Russia and the Japan-fostered "state of Manchukuo" was initialed at Tokyo.

China protested to Moscow the same day, saying that "the Chinese Government, which is joint owner of the

Chinese Eastern Railway, regards the transaction as illegal and without binding force, and as such the sale cannot affect Chinese rights and interests in whatever manner." Five days later an identical memorandum was sent by Nanking to the American, British, Japanese, French, Italian, Portuguese, Belgian, and Netherlands Governments ("Manchukuo" not being considered because China has no relations with her).

The situation was rather generally understood and China received some



sympathy but nothing more tangible. It was pointed out by commentators that Russia was selling, and could sell, nothing more than her own share in the railway, and it was felt that under the circumstances she could not be blamed for liquidating what had become a bad and troublesome bargain. The Soviet view was that China had pulled out first, leaving her "holding the baby," and that if the Chinese wanted to go up into North Manchuria and assert their right to partnership with "Manchukuo" as with Russia previously, that was the Chinese right. Of course nothing of the sort was done and in fact no Chinese even suggested it, preferring to take the view that the Russians had tried to sell the whole railway and that the entire transaction was therefore subject to being called off at a more favorable time. The Chinese Eastern Railway became the North Manchuria Railway, its gauge was corrected to coincide with that of the Japanese South Manchuria Railway, and nothing more was heard of the matter.

Russia Adopts Outer Mongolia

Formal diplomatic relations between China and the U.S.S.R. had been quietly resumed in December of 1932, Dmetri V. Bogomoloff proceeding to China as the second Soviet ambassador; but as has been seen this did not

help matters in the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway, while the Chinese were further to be outraged by a protocol between the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic on March 12, 1936, at Ulan Bator (Urga) between M. Tairov for Russia and M. Amor, chairman of the Small Khural, and M. Guendun, premier and foreign minister. This was a pact of mutual assistance, clearly enough aimed at Japan and evidently considered by the Mongols as affording a safeguard which China could not give.

What outraged Nanking, of course, was not that Russia would if necessary help repel Japan from Outer Mongolia—something which in itself should have been welcome—but the fact that Russia had signed with Outer Mongolia as an independent nation.

After a series of indignant Chinese notes and bland Russian replies, the matter seems to have been dropped; for the Russians had acted realistically in dealing with the local people in Outer Mongolia and the Chinese knew in their hearts both that the action was realistic and that China had plenty of fish to fry without bothering over such matters where the final result, at any rate, was rather in favor of China than otherwise. The incident at least gives some clue to its own possible settlement now if anyone cares to take the trouble to settle it, for since China and Soviet Russia have now signed their own treaty of mutual non-aggression it would seem possible for Nanking to ratify the Outer Mongolia compact and thereby regularize it just as the Mukden-Soviet Agreement of 1924 was finally regularized as pointed out by the Chinese note just quoted. However, in such stirring times as the present there seems very little need for bothering over hair-splitting of this sort.

We have finally progressed down to the Sino-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact once more and it perhaps deserves a slight additional consideration textually. Signed at Nanking on August 21, 1937, when China was clearly embroiled in the long-anticipated "big show" with Japan as result of resistance first in North China and subsequently in Shanghai starting August 14, it was universally recognized as embodying a belated scramble by Nanking to get Russia at least morally on her side. Yet how little the treaty actually provides may be seen at a glance.

The first article has the two powers

stating that they "solemnly reaffirm that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and that they renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with each other and in pursuance of this pledge they undertake to refrain from any aggression against each other individually or jointly with one or more other Powers."

Then it is declared that "in the event that either of the High Contracting Parties should be subjected to aggression on the part of one or more third Powers, the other High Contracting Party obligates itself not to render assistance of any kind, either directly or indirectly, to such third Power or Powers at any time during the entire conflict and also to refrain from taking any action or entering into any agreement which may be used by the aggressor or aggressors to the disadvantage of the party subjected to aggression." This mild statement, be it observed, was laid down at a time when China had just joined armed forces with a power with which the world press had fancied Russia herself practically at war less than a month previously!—which should give a measure as to how likely Russia was to give Japan any help whether she signed a non-aggression treaty with Russia or not.

The third and fourth articles were the usual diplomatic eyewash, fittingly concluding a treaty which was about as much use to frantic and war-torn China as an extra tail to a cat.

Yet clearly the document cannot be dismissed with the offhand disdain which its actual content deserves. Very likely Russia said to China, as reported: "We have been saying for a long, long time that we want a treaty of mutual non-aggression. Well, if you want something from us, sign that treaty just as we have been asking; it will get you nowhere at the moment, but you won't ever get anywhere until you do it." And without a doubt China was glad to be able to proclaim something to the world indicating a prospect of help from somebody, even though the "something" was to be classed for actual concrete significance with the many unfulfilled loan agreements Dr. H. H. Kung was announcing from Europe just on the verge of hostilities, when it was desired to show how much confidence all nations had in China.

The Japanese, though continuing to trumpet their China campaign as a holy war against bolshevism, have made singularly little capital of the Sino-Russian treaty despite its obvious vulnerability from two points of view

—either its complete lack of any immediate concrete meaning, or its indication of warmer sentiments between China and Russia. Elsewhere, in fact, a much more lively reception was reported than in quarters where interest would presumably come to a hot focus; in Berlin, for example, the Japanese-German Association was reported as declaring that "China has thrown herself into bolshevist arms," while German political circles were alleged to have felt that this was only confirmation of their opinion that the Ku-

mantained its risk independently, by China's choice, the Russians feel that there is no reason why they should now rush in and help pay China's losses.

Naturally the Russians will keep their usual close and canny eye on the position. It seems entirely probable that if China seemed due to break immediately, leaving Japan in full charge of the field at no special cost to herself, the Russians might somehow get into the situation actively. But so long as the Sino-Japanese affray proceeds on any sort of basis representing a con-



MOTORIZED UNIT: Trucks and engines are now made in Japan, a notable advance in manufacturing since the Jehol campaign four years ago.

mintang had been under Soviet influence for a considerable time—which, incidentally, is completely contrary to fact, for the Kuomintang has not even warmed up to its former members of Communist persuasion, although that is presumably changed now that hostilities have forced the "united front" for which the Reds have long been asking.

Has China Missed the Boat?

Foreign observers on the China scene appear in general to be agreed that China is scrambling after Russia but that she has missed the boat. A year ago, Moscow would gladly have signed a Sino-Russian treaty with teeth in it—and if such a treaty had been signed, and promptly published for the whole world to read, Japan might never have dared risk a joint Sino-Russian stroke against her activities either on the Siberian border or in North China, to say nothing of such a center as Shanghai.

But the Russian view is that China obdurately persisted in forcing Russia to pay the full costs of her insurance against war with Japan, these costs including the maintenance of a huge military establishment in the Far East, and the achievement of a most difficult and hazardous diplomatic balance. China at the same time kept up her own policy independently. Since each

tinuing occupation and expense to Japan, at no cost to Russia, the Russians have every reason to sit back and let China wear Japan down for their mutual benefit.

The Russians sincerely feel that they have been patient, generous and consistent toward China, so far as this writer can discern their attitude. They have, it is true, acted with hard-boiled realism in such matters as the Chinese Eastern Railway and the treaty with Outer Mongolia, but in each case they did so only after Chinese hesitations, withdrawals and general procrastination forced them to do so, as they see the matter. Underneath the Chinese diplomatic snortings one may perceive an underlying realization of the truth of this, although that does not make Nanking love Red Russia a bit the more. Still, it is any port in a storm, and whatever has happened in the past, Nanking now sees Russia as the only country with anything like the same interest as herself in seeing Japan worn or beaten down and put out of commission as an aggressive force in the Far East. Thus it is to be expected that China will henceforth adopt the new role of courting Russia, to what end no one can forecast. Russia holds the Far East balance and she is well aware of the fact. It is a pleasing role and perhaps not one lightly to be abandoned.

FOOD FOR THE TRUST-BUSTERS

An unpublished report of the FTC says that a few large corporations dominate the main food industries

By NORMAN COUSINS

M R. ROOSEVELT has passed out the big sticks and turned his pet trust-busters loose with orders to go out and crack down on the monopolists. They are the villains, he says in effect, of this little bumpy spell everybody is calling the recession. Thus far the trust-busters have swarmed all over the place waving their cudgels but there have been few full swings and even less cracking down.

Just when the real fireworks will start is a guess but there is no lack of potential victims. The Federal Trade Commission has been shouting monopoly for many months and can furnish the Administration with a long list of names of the bad boys of American business who have grown much too large and strong and who need a big dose of reducing pills if they know what is good for the country.

Only recently, the Commission sent Mr. Roosevelt a trunk full of notes on a new food trust that has been spreading itself all over the States in recent years. A few large organizations have taken control of the dairy, livestock, and wheat industries and have entrenched themselves so strongly that they exercise a virtual monopoly. This food trust is no trifling matter, the Commission says, and if the government wants to do something about the plight of the farmer and the high prices of food paid by the consumer it won't lose any time in breaking up some of the big combines.

These are the conclusions in brief of an investigation by the Commission that cost \$150,000 to make and almost two years to complete. It all started out harmlessly enough when Congress asked the FTC in the Fall of 1935 to find out why the farmer's income was falling off, and while the Commission was at it, to take a look at the consumer's dollar and see just which parts of it went where. But the farther the Commission dug into the investigation the more amazing became the material which it pried loose from all the sources made available to it by special act of Congress. Little by little a surprising story of food trust began to piece itself together out of the investigation and the Commission discovered that a

substantial part of the development of the trust had been in violation of the anti-trust laws.

Carefully, the FTC investigators checked and cross-checked their facts. There was no mistake about it, the Commission said, and wrote in its findings the "belief that the survival of independent farming by farmers who own



FARMER'S COMPLAINT: Actually, the farmer's average is sometimes as low as three cents because, as the FTC report shows, the companies pay the five-cent price only on milk sold in fluid form, and three cents or less for milk used in cheese, etc.

their own farms and maintain an American standard of living is in jeopardy." A long, detailed eight-volume typewritten report was drawn up and four copies were made. The Commission kept the original and sent one copy each to the Department of Agriculture, the Senate, and the House of Representatives.

According to past investigations the report would then be printed and made available to the public through the usual channels of distribution. But this report on the food trust was apparently an exception. It has never been printed. There are still only the original and the three copies.

The usual procedure followed in printing a report of the FTC is to have

it referred to committee in the Senate and then sent to the Government Printing Office. When the report on the food trust (officially known as the Agricultural Income Inquiry) reached the Senate it was handed over to the Committee on Agriculture. Senator Guy M. Gillette, of Iowa, chairman of the sub-committee, went through the detailed report and said that it was one of the most important placed before Congress in recent years. He got behind the report and his sub-committee recommended that it be printed.

The Committee on Printing, however, said the report would cost too much to publish and sent it back to Senator Gillette. Everything suddenly became surrounded in confusion. Somehow other figures on the cost of printing filled the air. One quote had it that it would cost \$127,000 to print the typewritten report. Another estimate was placed at \$28,000. Still another estimate, this one with the tabular matter reduced and simplified, and eliminating certain phases of the report, put the bid at \$15,000. [Joe L. Baker, assistant to the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, told this writer that the report would cost only \$5,000 to print.]

Senator Gillette, moving heaven and earth to get the report printed, shuttled back and forth between the Committee on Agriculture and the Committee on Printing, shaving down the price to where there could be no possible objection. Although he obtained a final estimate that was only ten per cent of the actual cost of making the investigation, he still could get no favorable action.

"It hasn't been printed yet," he told the Senate at the last session. "Why? Because there are interests that don't want it printed!"

The Senator didn't mention any names, but over in the House of Representatives Francis D. Culkin, of New York, took up the fight and singled out the National Dairy Products Corporation and the Borden Company. He said that they acted together and that they maintained lavish suites at the various capitals and "that you can always have the Borden lobbyist pointed out to you. He usually sticks up like a sore thumb."

"It is safe to say," the Congressman added, "that the National Dairy Products Corporation disburses annually for lobbyists and entertainment in State capitals and for political lawyers as high as \$5,000,000."

The Representative regarded the report of the Federal Trade Commission as a vindication of a fight he had been waging almost single-handed for many years to protect the dairy farmer in particular from what he charged was "an unrestrained and savage criminal monopoly." He had repeatedly contended that government financial aid to the farmer did very little actual good because most of it was sieved through into the hands of the large corporations. Mr. Culkin had identified this dairy monopoly as composed of a "Big Three" working in collaboration with each other to fix farmers' prices low and consumers' prices high. The "Big Three" consisted of National Dairy, Borden's and the Plymouth Cheese Board of Wisconsin. "While these corporations," he had said, "are paying high dividends on their very much watered stock and millions to their officers and lobbyists in salaries, they give the dairymen starvation prices for his products."

All these years Mr. Culkin had been proclaiming all these things but the wind always seemed to blow in the other direction. He had stumped New York State on non-political tours telling all who would listen that the food setup was rotten to the core; that children who needed milk couldn't get it because prices were scaled out of all proportion to actual costs; that farmers were being condemned to lives of poverty by "racketeering monsters."

"Why in God's name some of these thieves who are caught red-handed are not in jail is more than I can understand," he told an audience when referring to the "Big Three" at the Bonneville, N. Y. Fair several months ago. "If a man steals a loaf of bread for his hungry family, the law is rigorous in its exactions. These gentry seem to be able to steal millions of quarts of milk and escape punishment."

What the FTC has to say about the food trust may be more moderately stated than Mr. Culkin's philippics but the message is substantially the same. Its report, in fact, is not confined to the dairy monopoly alone but discusses grain, flour mills, bakeries, biscuit companies, livestock, meat packing, and chain groceries. And to round out all sources of income for the farmer, the report also includes studies of the cotton and tobacco industries.

This writer inspected the original report at the offices of the Commission in Washington and saw in it unmistakable evidence of monopolistic trends and monopolistic practices in the food industries. The extent of concentration is not so pronounced as the old Standard Oil combine or the American Tobacco Company before their dissolution, nor are any members of the food trust, singly or collectively, as large or powerful. In fairness, too, to the present monopolies, it must be emphasized

had to tighten his belt or else pay impossible prices for milk, butter, meat and other important items in the daily diet. This stretch between the farmer and consumer is growing wider all the time. How much of it is taken out in profits by the heads of the monopolies is indicated in the Commission's disclosure that even during the depression years many firms paid average salaries of \$50,000 or more, excluding bonuses and commissions, to their officers. Profits of ten companies handling milk



NOBLE EXPERIMENT: Mayor La Guardia, of New York, declared that many children were deprived of milk because of high prices. City milk stations were opened selling milk at nine cents.

that the abuses today are not as flagrant as by the old trusts, nor is the influence wielded today as great. But—and about this there can be no misunderstanding—the food trust is no midget, either in size or influence. And in the matter of abuses the old monopoly tradition is not ignored entirely.

That members of the food trust have broken even the present inadequate anti-trust laws is easily apparent in the report. In clear violation of the Clayton act, many of them have bought capital stock and controlling interests in competing firms and have established themselves in so strong a position that they could name their own prices, either to the farmer or to the consumer.

But law violation has not been the biggest sin of the food combines. More serious has been the utter helplessness of both farmer and consumer in driving a reasonable bargain with the trusts. For his share, the farmer is given the low price that the monopolies decide he shall be given. And the consumer has

and milk products averaged \$37,428,162 during the lean years of 1929-1934.

What is a monopoly? The term has been loosely applied and may mean almost anything. Actually, a monopoly is a condition that exists when one firm, or several firms working together, are sufficiently large to thumb their noses at competition. A corollary to this would be that the firm or firms embraced by the monopoly have enough power to destroy that competition at will and to tell the farmer what prices he will receive and the public what prices it will pay and know that neither one will be able to do anything about it.

Monopolies are supposed to be divided into classifications of good and bad. When a monopoly is supposed to be good, it provides good service at low prices. And when it is supposed to be bad, it provides good service at high prices. Monopolies never provide poor service and high prices both. The American people may be bled to their last dimes through high prices but they

CHINESE EGGS

ALTHOUGH few of them realize it, Americans consume hundreds of millions of eggs imported from China each year. Chinese eggs are much inferior to those produced here, but the price is so low, even with the tariff, that a number of American dairy firms have found it profitable to establish plants in the Orient for the purpose of freezing eggs, canning them, or drying them and putting them up in powdered form.

A large percentage of Chinese eggs imported in the United States are used in the manufacture of ice cream. An easy way to ascertain whether the eggs in your cream are of low quality is by the concentration in the flavor. The stronger the flavor, the poorer the eggs—generally speaking. Strong flavors are needed to cloak the unpleasant taste of low-grade eggs.

will go to war before they will tolerate a letdown in efficiency.

Those who contend that there are good and bad monopolies believe that the government should let the good ones alone and punish or break down the bad ones. But just as no distinction between good and bad dictatorships can be drawn, just as the danger in dictatorship is in the complete control it gives the dictator, to be exercised at his discretion, so can there be no actual distinction between monopolies. A monopoly that is "good" but has the power to be "bad" if it so wishes presents much the same problem as if it were "bad" all the time. It is the power to be potentially bad, notwithstanding the power to be potentially good, that offers the serious threat to public welfare.

According to the report of the Federal Trade Commission, various monopolistic groups control not only dairying but beef products, wheat, corn, and cotton. A direct relation is found between the existence and growth of this trust and the increased hardship of the farmer in recent years. Farming is the only major economic activity today, the report says, which is operating with a smaller capital than it did in 1910. The total value of farm land and buildings is two billion dollars less today than it was 28 years ago. An average acre, in other words, of farm land is worth ten dollars less than it was in 1910. This decrease took place, the Commission points out, despite an increase of 9.2 per cent in land devoted to farming since that year.

A few more figures on the bad shape the farmer is in today may be in order. Only one out of every five can afford a bathtub; three out of ten running water; one out of ten electricity. In the period 1930-1936, out of every 1,000 farms, 236 were foreclosed. Today, less than two-thirds of all farmers own their own farms; the number of

tenant farmers has been growing at a rapid pace.

Control of Milk

Beginning with the dairy industry, the report finds that the control of the nation's milk supply is rapidly passing into the hands of a few giant distributors and meat packers. Most important of them are the National Dairy Products Corporation, the Borden Company, Swift and Company, and Armour and Company. The last two are nominally meat-packers, but they have spread themselves so widely that they are now a definite power in the milk industry. The increase in capitalization of the large dairies has been 434 per cent in the two decades from 1914 to 1934.

Largest of all is the National Dairy Products Corporation, which owns 358 firms, among them Sheffield Farms, Kraft-Phenix Cheese, Breyer Ice Cream, General Ice Cream, and the Telling-Belle-Vernon Company, together with their subsidiaries, which in the case of Kraft-Phenix, amounted to 50 companies. National Dairy began in 1923, when its issue of 125,000 shares of stock at \$33 was underwritten by Lehman Brothers.* At that time it bought out the Rieck-McJunkin Dairy Company of Pittsburgh and the Hydrox

*During the last gubernatorial campaign in New York City, the charge was made that Governor Herbert H. Lehman was at one time affiliated with the National Dairy Products Corporation and was therefore "prejudiced" in adjudicating disputes involving the dairy farmer. *Current History* is pleased to publish a letter from Mr. Lehman in this connection:

When I assumed office, I completely withdrew from all business connections. I retired from the firm of Lehman Brothers, of which my father was one of the founders and of which I was a partner for many years. I gave up all of my other many business connections so as to be able to devote myself exclusively to the public service. I do not own a single share of stock or a single bond in any milk company operating in this State or elsewhere.

Although I have completely withdrawn from my former business associations and have no knowledge of their affairs, I have ascertained that my former firm of Lehman Brothers and the Lehman Corporation, which is a public company with thousands of stockholders, also do not own any stock in milk companies, nor are they associated with any of them.

[Governor Lehman took public office Nov. 6, 1928, as Lieutenant-Governor. He was elected Governor four years later—Ed.]

Corporation of Chicago. Its total sales in 1923 was \$20,000,000 but by 1930 the figure jumped to \$375,000,000.

Borden started its rise to power at the turn of the century, buying out the New York Condensed Milk Company. It was not particularly active until National Dairy set the pace in the 'twenties and began to step out in 1937, acquiring 207 companies, among them the Reid Ice Cream, J. M. Horton Ice Cream, Merrell-Soule, Gridley Dairy, Weiland Dairy, Casein Company of America, and its chain, and Central Distributors. In a single year its net sales have amounted to \$345,000,000.

It would appear that the mere existence of two such giant organizations, separately owned, selling the same products in much the same areas, would be sufficient proof that there is no monopoly. But when two such giant organizations work together, when competition is at a standstill between the two firms, monopoly exists just as if there were only one organization. The FTC uncovered certain documents in the files of the Borden Company which disclosed that there were numerous instances when Borden refused to compete with other large companies, particularly the National Dairy Products Corporation. Congressman Culkin has charged that National Dairy is in direct collusion not only with Borden's but with Swift and Armour, the "packer kings," and other distributors in fixing the price paid to the producer.

National Dairy has sold in a single year 21.38 per cent of the total quantity of ice cream manufactured in this country. In many states it controls more than forty per cent of all the available milk supply. And when it acquired Breakstone Brothers and Kraft-Phenix Cheese, it was able to control one-third of the entire cheese business in the United States.

The Borden Company, which was organized originally as a condensed milk manufacturer, was reorganized two years ago and became an operating company by taking over the business of all excepting ten of its subsidiaries. Borden's widest distribution is in the New York area under its own name and in the Chicago area under the name of Borden-Weiland, where it sells approximately 21 per cent of the total milk.

Significant is the point made in the report that although these two companies were able to pay salaries as high as \$180,000 during depression years, the salaries by cooperative dairymen's associations to their officers were often less than \$1000 a year.

In Plymouth, Wisconsin is the cheese exchange, made up of dairy dealers and processors. The exchange establishes the price of cheese in what is supposed to be a procedure of regular bidding. The FTC report indicates that the dominating influences on the exchange are National Dairies, Borden's, Swift, and Armour. Congressman Culkin has summarized the activities of this bloc in these words:

"The satellites of these outfits meet before the alleged market day and agree on a price of cheese for the following week. The next day a meeting of the board is held and the fiction of bids with no deliveries is gone through with. The price of cheese is thus fixed for the following week by these criminal monopolists. There are 2,500,000 dairy-men whose economic life is threatened by this brazen procedure."

A farmer does not receive one price for his milk. If he sells fifty cans, all of which contain the same type of milk, he does not necessarily get the same price for each can. For the cans of milk which the processors tell him have been used as regular fluid milk, he will be paid approximately five cents plus a quart. But for the cans of milk that are used for the by-products of milk, such as cream, butter or cheese, he will receive a much lower price. In some cases this is as low as two cents a quart. Congressman Culkin charges that the monopolies have been paying the farmer at the cheese rate but have actually used the milk for fluid milk purposes.

The Federal Trade Commission finds that the farmer has little way of ascertaining whether the milk companies are paying him the right amount. Further, the report charges that the books of the milk companies as to how much milk they actually sell as fluid milk, etc. have generally not been properly verified by thorough audits.

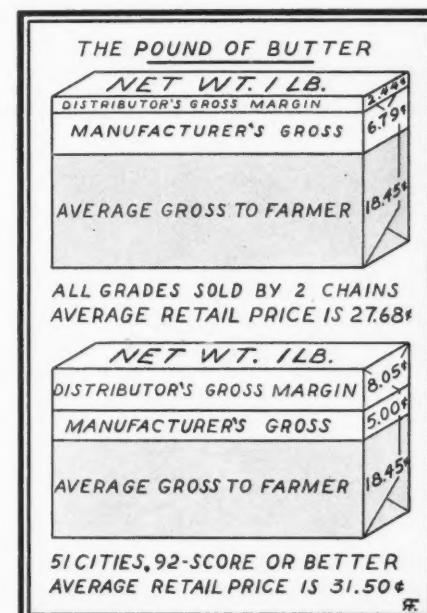
Finally, the Commission reports that the milk trust has seldom lowered the price of milk to the consumer when it has decreased the price to the farmer. During some years of the depression, when prices paid dairymen reached a low point, the spread between the dairymen and the consumers was so wide that the trust was able to show a handsome profit.

What Price Meat?

Swift and Armour, who, behind National Dairies and Borden's, are the largest buyers and processors of milk in the country, are also the dominating companies in the meat industries.

Meat figured very prominently in the

news recently when retail merchants in New York City closed their shops because they could find very few customers who could afford to pay for the meat at the sky-high prices that the dealers had to receive in order to show a scant profit. High prices, the dealers contended, were not the fault of the "drought," as Secretary Wallace had declared, nor were they the fault of the farmer. Fact was, they said, that the farmer could receive a substantial increase for his livestock and the distributing companies could still sell the meat to the retail dealer at a much



lower figure. They put the blame squarely on a "packer's monopoly" and further charged that the packers were falsely grading the meat by substituting low quality supplies for supposed high-grade meat.

The dealers' charges of concentration of power in the hands of a few meat packers have been substantiated in the report of the FTC. Three principal meat packers, it says, bought 41 per cent of all cattle and calves and 25 per cent of all the hogs produced in the country in a recent year. Swift sells 37.2 per cent of all veal; Armour 37 per cent. Swift sells 25 per cent of all beef carcasses; Armour 22 per cent.

Percentages mean very little, however, unless they are translated into terms of what they mean to both farmer and consumer. According to the report, the public paid an average of twelve and a half cents a pound for certain edible beef products in a recent year. Out of that less than four cents went to the farmer. And on the non-edible beef the price was even lower. The farmer's share has been decreasing almost steadily since 1913. At that

time, he received eighty cents out of the consumer's dollar for pork. Today he receives just half as much.

The large meat packing companies resorted to "questionable practices," the Commission says, in acquiring competing companies. They sold meat, pork particularly, at cut prices in the sales territories of the independent packers in order to force the independents to sell out. In a number of cases, small packers who lacked branch houses, cold storage facilities, or refrigerator cars, contracted to sell the bulk of their output to members of the Big Four—Swift, Armour, Cudahy and Wilson. By so doing they became dependent on the big packers and were forced to sell out at the pleasure of the packers or lose their markets. Tricks were used to squeeze out smaller companies and through various banking connections, the large packers were able to withdraw credit from the independents and force them to sell.

Among other methods used by the packers in their march to monopoly, the FTC cites short-weighting, extortion of railroad rebates, price-cutting, combinations and pools, lobbying, monopolizing terminal railroads, owning cattle loan banks, controlling market papers, and monopolizing storage. The report indicates that as soon as the packers came into power the prices for farmers went down and those for consumers went up. In fixing prices for the consumer, the report shows that the rule generally followed was to charge as much as the traffic would bear. Washington, D.C., for example, which has an average income per person of \$1,006 as compared to \$254 for Little Rock, Arkansas, pays more for its meat than any other city in the country. The citizen's of the nation's capital are forced to pay about thirty cents for a pound of veal while those in Little Rock pay fourteen cents.

The difference in price does not mean that the packing companies have taken into consideration the comparative inability of the people of Little Rock to pay as much for their meat as the people of Washington. It means, rather, that Little Rock has the normal price and that Washington prices have been skyrocketed because the packers are aware that food budgets are more ample in that city than anywhere else.

A number of other interesting comparisons in food prices paid by various cities is disclosed in the report. Portland pays sixteen cents for a pound of beef as compared to twenty-eight cents paid by New Haven. Louisville pays

a low of eighteen cents for pork while San Francisco is charged twenty-three cents.

The reason for such wide variance in prices is not to be found, as is popularly thought, in the added cost involved in transporting meat to cities far removed from the stockyards. If this were so, Chicago would have the lowest meat prices in the nation. But it does not. The same line of monopoly reasoning that fastened high prices on Washington has also fastened high prices on Chicago. For Chicago, as cities go, is among the most prosperous and if the meat trade there can carry a high price and get away with it the packers have achieved their objective. So high meat prices are the results not of any natural economic forces but of shrewd calculation designed to exact as high a price as possible without openly creating a public scandal.

The monopoly situation changes very little when the report leaves meat and turns to wheat. Little Rock, we mentioned before, pays the lowest price in the country for its meat. But Little Rock also pays the highest for its bread. Here again it is a case of charging what the traffic will bear. The people of Little Rock cannot afford to eat much meat but they cannot do without bread—food's first essential. Dieticians will tell you that the people who eat the least meat usually consume the most bread. The bread trust has taken advantage of this knowledge to impose the highest bread prices in the country on the city which can least afford to pay.

The Millers Open the Files

The Federal Trade Commission had to wage a seven years' court fight before it could get the Millers' National Federation to furnish any information about its members. The results of this investigation were included in the general food report of the FTC.

The startling disclosures made by the Commission in this study of wheat help to explain why the Millers' Federation was so reluctant to open its files to the government. Definite violations of the anti-trust laws were found, particularly in the case of General Mills, the largest milling company in the world. This firm, according to the report, has controlled trade organizations, blacklisted customers, fixed prices, imposed uniform carrying charges on forward sales of flour, and put through its own price differentials on flour sold in different kinds and sizes of packages. An indication of its size can be gained

when it is realized that together with Pillsbury Flour Mills, it bought one-third of the total commercial wheat crop in a recent year.

In and out of depression, the large mills have kept piling up sizeable profits. During the pit of the lean years their net profits averaged almost twelve million dollars. In the last few years, in fact, their margin of profit on a loaf of bread has been increased 56 per cent. The gross income of farmers in 1934 from their wheat crop amounted to \$298,155,000 while the gross income

period in 1935. And General Baking's net profits hit the bull's eye with an increase of 1,100 per cent in profits between the 1935 and the 1937 fiscal years.

The farmer's share of a loaf of bread is suitable for a microscopic slide. He receives one cent. The retailer gets a few tenths of a cent more. The baking monopolies account for most of the rest.

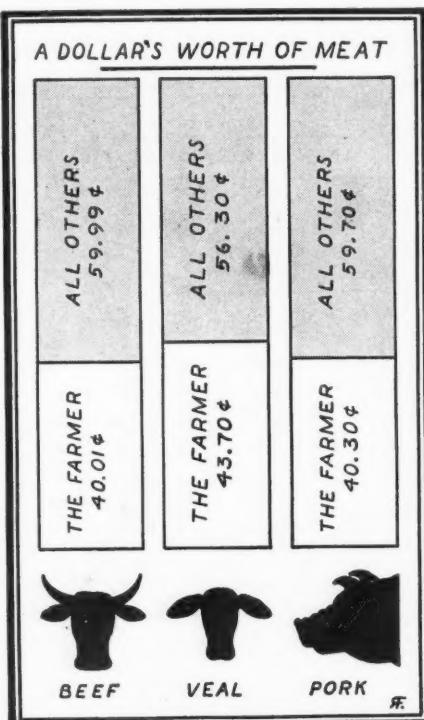
Section after section in the food industries tell the same story. The FTC sums up its entire report when it says:

"The progressive enlargement of a few predominant enterprises has gone so far that, in financial strength and in numbers of persons subject to their control, the largest concerns exceed some State governments."

The food trust is not something that existed years ago; it is not a memory, like the old Standard Oil, to be conjured up in recollections of the "old, rampant monopoly days." Nor is it an exaggeration or a political scare. The food trust is something that has happened within our own brief memories. It is happening today. A government agency, as far removed from politics as any commission in Washington, has pointed to that conclusion in a report in which careful research based on facts was the basis of the investigation. The report is no wild-eyed extravagant concoction but a calm, mature, competent examination.

As to whether the existence of monopoly in the food industries is an indication of the existence of monopolies in other industries is a question which additional investigation alone can reveal. What the food report does show, however, is that the present anti-trust laws have not been rigidly enforced or are ambiguous, and that the conditions are ripe for monopoly control in other industries.

As far as the food trust is concerned, no great problem should confront the Administration. The report says that the anti-trust laws have been violated, when and by whom. In those cases where the present laws do not adequately protect against monopoly, the report recommends ways in which the law should be strengthened. If, with so much abundant evidence and material before it, the Administration should neglect or fail to take adequate steps to protect the farmer and consumer against the food monopoly, the record of the New Deal on this issue, at least, will be that its bark was much worse than its bite and that its big stick was only a thin splint.



from flour sales alone by only twelve companies totaled \$335,879,000.

Concentration of control in the bread industry in violation of anti-trust laws has been going on for 30 years. The large corporations grew larger by buying up or merging with competing companies, rather than by constructing new plants. The four largest bakeries, General Baking Company, Continental Baking Company, Ward Baking Company, and Purity Bakeries Corporation, have never offered serious threats of competition to each other, the report discloses, but have all pyramided without getting in each other's way.

The price of bread in recent months has been at its highest in seven years. The consumers' food bill has soared \$50,000,000 a year through these prices alone. But if the bread bill has soared, then the profits of the bread industries have skyrocketed. Net profits of Continental Baking for 39 weeks ending September 25, 1937, showed more than a 100 per cent increase over a similar

BRITAIN'S "CLIVEDEN SET"

An informal, but powerful, pro-German group constitutes a second British Foreign Office

By CLAUD COCKBURN

N THE summer, the British chargé d'affaires in Republican Spain—a Mr. Leche—created a minor scandal by saying to a member of the British House of Lords, who repeated it, that "Myself, I would rather see England run by Germans who were Monarchs than by Englishmen who were Communists." Published in England, this indiscreet expression of Mr. Leche's political views raised a lot of eyebrows. In actual fact, he had only said in a somewhat crudely oversimplified formulation what quite a lot of persons in high places in London who deplored the indiscretion, themselves instinctively feel.

Hardly anyone would put it that way, very few would formulate it in that way even to themselves. Yet the instinctive political direction it represents is one of the fundamental facts of Anglo-German relations, and in particular of the internal British struggle over British policy towards Germany, which reached a temporary deadlock at the turn of the year.

Every concession which the Weimar Republic secured from the western powers in general and the City of London in particular it got, in the last analysis, by virtue of the belief prevalent in London that if "Germany is pressed too hard" Germany would "go Bolshevik."

It is the central triumph of Herr Hitler and Dr. Goebbels that they have extended the conception of "going Bolshevik"—and hence the range of the fears which such a conception inspires in the hearts of City gentlemen—to practically every possible manifestation of democratic advance, or the progress and widening of popular rule.

That Hitler is thought of by wide circles of the British Conservative Party as the "bulwark against Bolshevism in Europe" is one of his strongest cards in the Anglo-German political game. But in London as in Berlin "Bulwark against Bolshevism" has come and is increasingly coming to mean what Hitler and Dr. Goebbels, obeying the necessities of German imperialism, choose that it shall mean.

It means bulwark against the anti-feudal Republicanism of the Spanish



CLIVEDEN'S HOSTESS: *Lady Astor, formerly Nancy Langhorne of Virginia, is the social center of the influential set which spends pleasant weekends at her country estate giving British foreign policy a pro-German slant.*

Government (called "red" in the *London Observer* no less than in the *Volkskischer Beobachter*); bulwark against the "red" peril supposedly implicit in the strength of the liberal Government of Czechoslovakia; bulwark against the "red" tide descried rising in France under the leadership of such heavily disguised "extremists" as MM. Chautemps, Delbos, and Léon Blum; it means bulwark against the dangerously Bolshevik tendencies of Comrades Roosevelt and Hull.

It may sound absurd, but it is a fact, and anyone who goes around much in Conservative circles in England can verify it, that the German Government's policy of securing allies or at least paralyzing opposition in foreign countries by startling people literally out of their wits with the assertion that every government or party which stands in the way of Germany's aggressive foreign policy is either Bolshevik or "slipping into Bolshevism," has succeeded in England to a degree which makes of it a first-class political factor.

It is true for instance that there are German guns at Tarifa, placed in a spot prohibited by treaty, dominating not only the Straits of Gibraltar but the harbor of Gibraltar itself. A British Admiral (Sir Roger Keyes) has admitted in the House of Commons that now the British fleet would need smoke-screens or fog to get through the Straits of Gibraltar safely in the event of war.

But, reply the British Conservatives who have drunk so deeply of the subtly mixed potions produced by Dr. Goebbels, what is the alternative? The alternative is to support the Spanish Government and help turn the Germans out of Tarifa as quickly as possible. But the Spanish Government is "red" (Dr. Goebbels and his British friends have told us so). So we will let the German guns stay at Tarifa and we will let the German mine-owners divert all the iron ore of Bilbao to the factories of Krupp instead of to the factories of Vickers.

All of which process of "reasoning"—to be heard in any Conservative Club in London—is not very far from the indiscretion of Mr. Leche. The "Anti-

comintern Pact"—and all that it implies—is only an extension of the same policy of induced paralysis.

It is difficult to convey to anyone unfamiliar with the atmosphere of Conservative London the extent to which this sort of thing plays a dominant role. It is a pity of course about British sailors being killed by the Japanese:

earth to raise the money to pay for armaments against possible German attack, it was the Bank of England which was engaged in facilitating large credits from the City of London to Germany which, as the *Financial News* pointed out at the time, were proving of major value in the speeding up of the German rearmament program.



The Anti-Marx Brothers play a soothing lullaby which has an unfailing appeal for . . .

but are not the Japanese saving China from Bolshevism? It is a pity that Mussolini should be able to cock snooks at the British Navy all over the Mediterranean, but would not the alternative to Mussolini be a "red" Italy? And so on and so on and so on *ad absurdum* and *in infinitum*.

That is the true background of Anglo-German relations. That is the final key to the paradox of Anglo-German affairs.

For instance: The British are frightened by German rearmament. Yet it was one of the leading figures in the British steel industry (Sir Arthur Balfour) who a few years ago—in 1933—told an audience of British steel men that Germany would have to rearm and the British steel industry would have to assist her to do it.

A year or so later when the British were beginning to consider how on

During the first year of Nazi aerial rearmament, Lord Londonderry, close friend of General Goering, ardent admirer of Nazism, in the interests of "Anglo-German goodwill" quietly suppressed (even apparently from the rest of the Cabinet) the main facts of it as gathered by the trained agents of the Air Ministry, and it was left to the Chicago *Daily News* to print the news of the menacing location of German aerodromes near Germany's west coast.

On that occasion—even before the news appeared in print—a number of younger men in the Air Ministry, certainly not unconservative politically, themselves collected all the relevant facts, some of them from other friends, some of them from illicit flying weekends over western Germany, and in the end smuggled to the Cabinet an exceedingly startling "expert report."

That the head of the most vital of

the British defence departments should, for political "reasons," be pursuing one policy towards Germany while half the officials of his department were coolly pursuing another, is only one characteristic example of a phenomenon which keeps on reproducing itself with increasing sharpness in Anglo-German relations.

The visit of Lord Halifax to Berchtesgaden and everything that went with it is the latest and to date most important manifestation of a tendency which has now developed to the point of a dangerous disease. Within approximately the past eighteen months, the attitude towards Germany exemplified, in the instances I have just given, by the Bank of England and Lord Londonderry, crystallized in what has very recently come to be known as the "Cliveden Set." Two months ago nobody mentioned the Cliveden Set as such. Today they are openly discussed in newspapers, attacked in the House of Commons.

What is the "Cliveden Set"?

Cliveden is the Thames valley country residence of Viscountess (Nancy) Astor, sometime of Virginia and now wife of Viscount Astor, owner of the weekly Sunday newspaper *The Observer*. Her brother-in-law, Major the Honorable John Jacob Astor, owns the controlling interest in the *London Times*. Both are profoundly influenced, directly or indirectly, by the enormously energetic and sprightly Lady Astor.

In a country where so much of the most important politics is played at weekends in large country houses, Cliveden, by reason of the passionate political interest of its hostess, and the enormous power which her family wealth and newspaper connections represent, has been one of the most politically important of British country houses.

Weekend parties at Cliveden were making or marring the careers of politicians long before the Anglo-German issue came to dominate as it does today the whole of the British political scene.

It seems to have been approximately in the spring of 1936 that Cliveden began to be the centre of a policy and an intrigue which have since brought it to the position where it is freely and bitterly referred to by the opponents of that policy in Whitehall as "Britain's second Foreign Office."

Most prominent and active of the personalities associated with Cliveden are: Lady Astor, Lord Astor, Major Astor, Lord Lothian, Lord London-

derry, chief of the Conservative Party organisation, Mr. Geoffrey Dawson, editor of *The Times*, Mr. Barrington Ward, one of his principal assistants there and a close protégé of Lady Astor, Sir Neville Henderson, British Ambassador to Berlin, Lord Halifax himself, and a whole string of satellites, many of them simply politicians on the make, including several youngish men who owe their careers and their positions on the verge of the Cabinet to Cliveden backing.

The Aga Khan occupies a somewhat eccentric position close to the Cliveden Set.

The Cabinet Ministers most closely associated with the set are Sir Samuel Hoare, the present Home Secretary, and Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Active dislike of the French, fear and hatred of all "popular" movements, a consequent admiration for the "defensive" possibilities of Hitlerism, and mixed with that a fear amounting to panic of a possible German attack upon Britain are the principal common characteristics of the members of the set. Their attitude towards the Soviet Union needs no description.



Parade, London
Sir Samuel Hoare,
Home Secretary . . .

It would be hard to exaggerate the ramifications of the power and influence represented by the Cliveden Set in politics, newspapers and the City. *The Times* alone is a weapon of a power still greater, despite many changes and a circulation of only 197,000, than that wielded by any other single newspaper in Europe.

The policies decided upon at weekend gatherings at Cliveden are by no means doomed to blush unseen or unheard of. They are apt to make themselves as effectively felt, and sometimes much more effectively felt, than the policies more orthodoxy hammered out in the rooms of the Foreign Office.

Arranging the Halifax Trip

It was at Cliveden that the visit of Lord Halifax to Germany was decided—a decision accompanied by an extraordinary correspondence in *The Times*, culminating in a leading article virtually demanding favorable consideration for German imperialist aims in Europe, and demanding that the negotiations to that end should be carried out by the methods of secret diplomacy.

Lord Londonderry and Lord Lothian flew to and fro between London and Berlin, arranging, with the close co-operation of General Goering and the British Ambassador, the preliminaries of the trip.

Mr. Eden had been against the plan from the beginning, and had said so in no uncertain terms. Sir Samuel Hoare was for it, and it was he who was at first deputed to persuade the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister, who had put his political money on the success of a series of personal "approaches" to Mussolini, was at first of the opinion that the sudden opening of negotiations with Herr Hitler would fatally upset his Italian apple-cart.

He was finally persuaded partly on foreign political grounds, but far more on grounds of domestic policy. Sir Kingsley Wood, his principal election adviser, reported to him that in the event of an early General Election becoming a necessity, nothing would go down better with the country than the appearance of an "appeasement" with Germany; the country, he calculated, in its present mood would be prepared to vote for anyone who might be credibly represented for the time being as having done something to remove the brooding fear of another German war which hangs over it like a nightmare.

Mr. Eden was to be away in Brussels when the plot was finally sprung. The Foreign Office, which had already got wind of what was coming, tried hard at the last moment to find some adequate reason for suddenly canceling Mr. Eden's presence at Brussels, but failed.

The impending visit was announced. Mr. Eden, in a furious interview with the Prime Minister, resigned—offering

as his reason not the Halifax visit (the real grounds) but instead stating that the feeble progress being made with the British rearmament program gave him insufficient backing to carry out a strong line of foreign policy.

He was persuaded to withdraw his resignation, but the threat of it had already had a considerable effect in



A. Chambord
Parade, London
. . . while Premier Chamberlain lends an ear.

undermining the more dangerous possibilities latent in the Halifax trip.

If they were undermined then, they blew up altogether—for the time being—as a result of a curious leakage to the newspapers which occurred immediately after Lord Halifax' return to London.

Within a few hours after Lord Halifax had made his report, the public was made aware through the medium of two diplomatic correspondents of the precise nature of the "terms" which had been generally discussed between Lord Halifax and Herr Hitler at Berchtesgaden. They have since been published all over the world: the temporary truce in the pressing of Germany's colonial claims, the re-entry of Germany into a League of Nations shorn of all power as an instrument for enforcing collective security, the admission of German "absorption" of Austria, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia under the pretext of the establishment of a federal state on Swiss lines, and so on.

Vansittart, the Wrecker

That leakage destroyed for the time being the plans so carefully laid at

Cliveden, and Cliveden, surveying the wreckage, had only one name on its lips as the probable wrecker: the name of Sir Robert Vansittart, head of the permanent staff at the Foreign Office.

It is no secret that Sir Robert Vansittart detests Cliveden and all that it represents with an active personal loathing. He is also afraid of the Cliveden Set, believing that in the end their money and their newspaper power and their social influence in the West End and the country houses will enable them to achieve what Herr von Ribbentrop pursued so strenuously by similar methods in the brief reign of the present Duke of Windsor.

Sir Robert Vansittart's position and policy are a fair specimen, and will serve as a typical summing up, of the opposition to the Cliveden policy as it exists within the ranks of the Government and the Conservative party.

The position of the group which he represents is paradoxical. They regard, correctly, Germany as the greatest potential menace to Britain. They acknowledge, theoretically, that the means to neutralize that menace are ready to hand in the shape of a closer alliance and cooperation between Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union.

But since they are in fact no less Tory in their social outlook and economic position than the wealthy ladies and gentlemen down at Cliveden, they are in the awkward position of feeling bound to reject for the most part the very defences which offer themselves, since they cannot bear the notion of an association with the Soviet Union or a strengthening of the alliances and pacts of the Soviet Union in central and western Europe.

They fall back therefore on the apparently futile pursuit of other means of enfeebling the menacing power of the Third Reich: notably, the attempt to detach Italy from the famous axis.

In other words, their policy is still based essentially on the ideas which inspired the unfortunate "Stresa Front."

The only result to date has been the successful blackmailing of Britain by Signor Mussolini, who has secured a series of concessions and friendly approaches from the London Government solely on the strength of the idea that these will eventually lure him out of his association with Berlin. In fact each new concession, by raising his value in Berlin and offering to the world an apparent demonstration of his power, has served so far only to

strengthen the Berlin-Rome association.

The entry of Japan into the "Anti-Comintern" triangle, and the grave development of affairs in the Far East has served precisely to extend the same system of what is rudely called blackmail and politely called "pressure" beyond the boundaries of Europe.

To the supporters of the Cliveden policy the menace in the Far East is one more reason for an early surrender to Nazi demands. To the opposite wing of the governing party, it is a further sharpening of the awkward contradiction involved in the attempt to defend British interests against the powers of the "Anti-Comintern Pact" without drawing upon the obvious means of so



THE WRECKERS: Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and Sir Robert Vansittart, who thwarted Cliveden's plans.

doing—namely an association with the policy of the Soviet Union.

The tension grows monthly worse as the armed power of imperialist Germany grows, and the ugly dilemma of British conservatism—the dilemma of a right-wing Government which must either surrender British interests to foreign imperialist demands, or join hands with hated left-wing Governments—remains unsolved.

Britain Speeds German Rearmament

Two "theories" of policy towards Germany, one particular, the other general, I have not mentioned. One is the belief, not very far from the beliefs of Cliveden, and certainly often considered by the Prime Minister, that there is still time to involve the financially hard pressed and economically threatened fascist states in a City loan "with

strings to it." It has frequently been mooted as the real solution of the Italian menace, and it was certainly very much in the mind of Mr. Runciman on his visit to the United States and of all those Cabinet Ministers who discussed the political situation of Europe with the King of the Belgians on his recent visit to England.

It is in fact a revival of the notions entertained at the Bank of England at the beginning of Nazi rearmament. It was certainly believed then by Mr. Montagu Norman, assisted to that belief by the subtle Dr. Schacht, that British credits for Germany meant an easing of the internal tension in Germany and hence—it was quite erroneously supposed—an easing of the German threat to the outside world.

The result was a speeding up of German armament on British money, and a heavy increase in the pressure of the German threat.

The same results in a still more grave form would, it is being pointed out in the City, follow from a repetition of any similar policy today; but it is virtually certain that within the next six months we shall hear more of it and hear it again presented as a "way out" for British Conservatism from its present horrid impasse.

The more general theory, which soothes the nightmares of the political club men, is the belief that, if only things can be kept going for another sixteen or eighteen months, Britain will be so heavily rearmed that she will once again be able to assert herself without having recourse to the present humiliating procedures of questionnaires that remain unanswered, protests treated with contempt, visits which result in nothing but a new batch of arrogant demands.

Unfortunately for Britain, while the rearmament program proceeds along its not very brilliant course, strategic power positions worth millions of pounds of armament have had to be abandoned to the potential enemy: one needs only to think of the Straits of Gibraltar, the Balearic Islands, the Azores, and the Basque country.

With the menace growing, and therefore the increase of mere fear as a political factor, the only thing certain is that within the next few months the adherents of the Cliveden policy, "The Shiver Sisters" as the cartoonist Low has described them, will make a new attempt to realize the aims which they failed to achieve after the return of Lord Halifax from Berchtesgaden.

UNDERGROUND EUROPE

By MAX NOMAD

THE establishment of "authoritarian" regimes has meant the end of the traditional forms of political activity in a large part of Europe. In some of the greatest civilized nations a multiplicity of political parties, free competition for public office, an independent press have all become mere reminiscences of a bygone day.

All these nations are paying tribute to the new principle, proclaimed after the Great War, which runs to the effect that "any number of parties may be in existence, provided that one of them is in power and all the others in prison." Another and ironic tribute to this curious formulation is that its father, the prominent Bolshevik leader, Michael Tomsky, "committed suicide" during the Soviet purge of 1936, the victim of his own lofty principles of government.

This momentous change in the political, economic, and cultural life of those concerned was bound to arouse opposition. The new "ins" are faced by a hostile army of malcontent "outs," irreconcilably hostile to the new masters and to the barbaric intolerance of the new dispensation. With all the other avenues of opposition closed, the nonconformists have no choice but to work secretly: in other words, to "go underground." It was a dangerous undertaking, with the chances of being arrested and dying in prison, or being executed, much greater than the prospects for an early revolution.

The conspirators against the post-War dictatorships constitute what one might call Underground Europe. There are anti-Stalinists in Russia and anti-fascists in Germany and Italy. In Austria, the Socialists have organized the amazing phenomenon of an underground mass movement. The Communists have been driven underground in Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria and the countries bordering upon Russia—Rumania, Poland and the Baltic republics. Loyalist Spain has its Anarchist underground. Then there is the spectacle of the secret organizations striving to further their anti-democratic, fascistic ambitions in France, Poland, and the "succession" states of

Central and Eastern Europe. Finally, there are the inevitable concomitants of all revolutionary activity—the secret police and spies in the ranks, which constitute another and peculiarly distinctive part of Underground Europe.

Anti-Stalinism in Russia

That system of government which proclaims absolute intolerance of any dissident opinion is usually designated by the generic term of fascism or totali-



MARTYR: Carlo Rosselli, Italian liberal, who paid for his beliefs with his life.

tarianism. Yet it must not be forgotten that it was actually inaugurated by Soviet Russia, where the suppression of all opposition embraces all shades of political opinion, from the monarchists at the extreme Right to anarchists and non-conformist communists at the extreme Left.

The Russian "Whites" have practically disappeared as an active group working on Soviet territory in the hope of bringing back the old system. The Leftist groups which refused to bow to the Bolshevik monopoly of power, continued their underground propaganda long after the Whites had given up. They have not been very successful. To approach the working masses the non-conformist Leftists have to talk to them secretly about wages and hours.

But strikes are prohibited in Soviet Russia under penalties as severe as in the fascist countries; and any mention of sabotage, such as once was openly advocated by the French syndicalists and the American I. W. W., means merciless "liquidation." Moreover, a persistent propaganda has largely succeeded in filling the younger generation with a spirit of blind submission to the authorities and suspicion towards all critics.

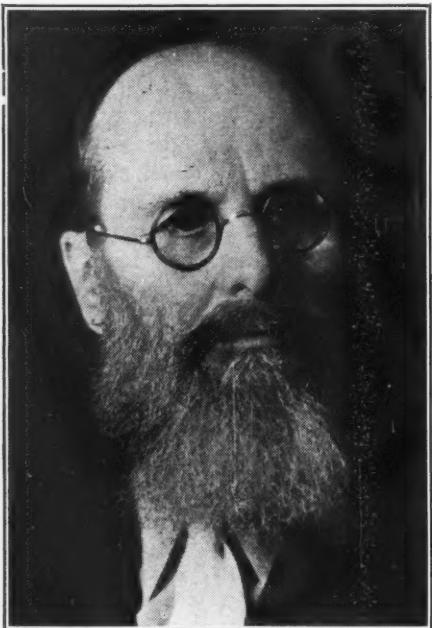
The radical opponents of the Bolsheviks, though decimated by arrests, have never completely disappeared. However, they have been unable to build up a coherent country-wide organization, or even regular underground groups in the classical style of the Tsarist period. They meet informally to exchange their views about current events; and the latest gossip about their immediate or highest superiors imperceptibly trickles from them to others who may not even suspect that the whisperer is not quite orthodox in his views about the government.

A new element was injected into Russian underground activities by the appearance of serious dissensions and rivalries within the Communist Party. Leftist, Rightist, and intermediate groups began to spread their Trotskyist, Zinovievist, Bukharinist, or other heresies among the bulk of the party's rank and file. The growing inequalities in the standard of living, the ever widening gulf between the superiors and inferiors, the increasing number of disappointed office-aspirants, facilitated the task of the dissenters who agreed on one point: the removal of Stalin and of his closest associates, and the establishment of a new government which would continue experimenting on the basis of the economic changes effected by the Revolution, but would substitute certain elements of democracy for the unlimited autocratic powers of a dictator. The methods of mass extermination and accusation of "espionage" applied since 1936 to all old Bolsheviks, have no doubt greatly weakened the opposition. Under-

ground Russia is now a cowed, disorganized, and atomized army.

Italy's United Front

It took the Italian fascists a few years before they completely destroyed all aspects of non-conformist political activity. But once this was achieved all shades of liberal, republican, social-



GIUSEPPE MODIGLIANI: Leader of the Italian Socialist underground movement.

ist, syndicalist, communist, and anarchist opinion found themselves in the same underworld of political outlawry.

The hostility which separated the different groups of Italian radicals prior to the march upon Rome, continued for a long time underground as well. The two largest groups, the Socialists and the Communists, hated each other all the more as they had once belonged to the same party. It was not only the old question of tactics and doctrine, of "gradualism" and democracy as against immediate revolution and dictatorship; it was caused also by the Socialists' critical attitude toward Russia's domestic and foreign policy, to which the Communists felt bound body and soul.

However, it so happened that since 1934 Russia began to consider the desirability of western alliances against the German fascist enemy. As a result the Communists intimated that policy of collaboration with the Socialists which usually goes by the name of "united front." The Italian Socialists and Communists began to give out joint statements and appeals on various aspects of Italian policy; and they are now trying to avoid the discussion of issues separating them. A still closer

contact between the two parties was effected in 1937 after Russia's relations with Italy had become really strained in connection with the Spanish situation and the Rome-Berlin axis. A sort of common program was adopted by the two parties. In matters of domestic policy they are in favor of a democratic republic "under the hegemony of the working class," as their official vocabulary has it; that is, under a Popular Front Government, French style, with the Socialists and Communists as part of the ruling majority. In matters of foreign policy the two parties advocate the idea of an international peace policy; they engage themselves to fight any attempts at attacking Russia, and demand the withdrawal of Italian troops from Spain.

Both Socialists and Communists have their dissenters who have constituted their own independent parties and groups, and who have their own weekly or semi-monthly organs. Their influence is not very considerable. The same is true of various anarchist groups. The latter have no definite program for the near future—except that their hatred of all authority is naturally stronger under a system which bars open expression of their views.

In addition to all these parties and groups using the old sets of radical political terminology, there is to be mentioned a very active and influential group which has no counterpart in the other countries. It is the *Giustizia e Libertà* (Justice and Liberty) group which publishes in Paris a weekly of that name. Its originator was a young Italian intellectual, Carlo Rosselli, the scion of an old and prosperous family which counted among its closest friends Mazzini, the father of modern Italy. His advocacy of a sort of democratic-liberal socialism has won him a large following among the educated & middle classes. *Giustizia e Libertà* which, like the other emigré publications, is being smuggled into Italy, seems to be a thorn in the side of Il Duce. In the summer of 1937, Carlo Rosselli and his brother Nello, a well-known Italian scholar, were found murdered near Paris under circumstances which leave no doubt about the political origin of the crime.

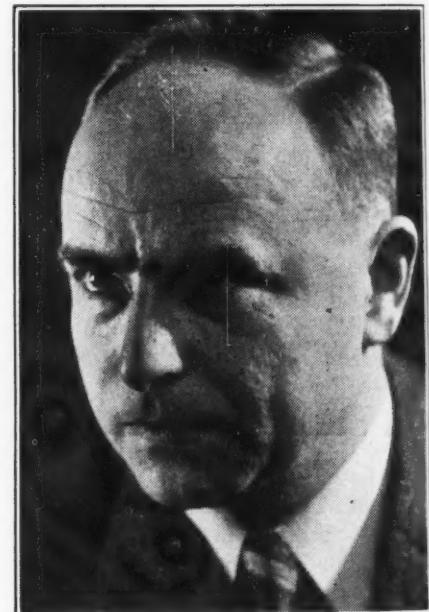
Germany's Political Underworld

Next to Italy Germany shows the greatest variety of underground parties and groups, with the regular Socialist and Communist parties holding first place as far as membership and number of publications are concerned. The other groups represent various shades

of left-wing socialism and communism. The most important of them is the Socialist Workers Party (S. A. P.) composed to a large extent of former left-wing Socialists and right-wing Communists. At present they are to the left of the Communist Party as well, because—strange as it may sound to an outsider—the official Communists are now at the extreme Right of the international radical movement. (This complete turn-about is explained by the fact that the Soviet Government is anxious to win the good will of the western world in view of possible military alliances against the German-Japanese menace.)

In a class all by itself is the *Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampf-Bund* or ISK (International Socialist League of Struggle). In the opinion of the ISK, a certain high standard of ethics is inseparable from the political conduct of a revolutionist—a point of view considered rather "utopian" by the more practical, hard-boiled radicals. Moreover, the ISK is opposed to the "democratic" cant affected by all revolutionary groups, and openly proclaims the aristocratic philosophy of a dictatorship by a benevolent élite.

Last but not least, there is a group of former National-Socialists calling



GERMAN EXILE: Otto Strasser, who directs the anti-Hitler Black Guard.

itself the Black Front (*Die Schwarze Front*). They are headed by Dr. Otto Strasser, brother of Gregor Strasser, one of the founders and chief organizers of the Nazi Party, who was liquidated during the purge of June 30, 1934. Otto Strasser lives in Czechoslovakia, where he publishes his semi-monthly *Die Deutsche Revolution*—

the rallying point of all malcontent National Socialists who have apparently experienced a complete change of heart. Their motto is "Neither Fascism nor Bolshevism"; there is hardly any trace of anti-Semitism in their propaganda, and they advocate a peculiar "German" aspect of democratic socialism. They had a secret broadcasting station in Czechoslovakia, which apparently aroused the anger of the authorities in the Reich. Some time ago the Gestapo succeeded in locating it. The engineer operating it was assassinated by special agents who immediately returned to Germany.

The mutual relations between the various underground organizations are more strained in Germany than they are in Italy. The Communist proposal of a united front has met with little response. Most of the revolutionary groups seem to believe that a victory over Hitler, with the help of the Communists, would soon be followed by their own extermination. The Socialists, in particular, seem to place their hopes largely upon their connections with certain dissatisfied strata among the middle classes and even among the officers of the Reichswehr. The establishment of a more or less "civilized" form of military dictatorship, as distinguished from a party dictatorship of the Nazis, has for a long time appeared to many as the only way out of the present situation.

However divided the various anti-Nazi factions may be with regard to their aims and their slogans, they all use the same technical weapons in the work of underground propaganda. The reports about the many secret printing plants and the secret publications are greatly exaggerated. Various sorts of devices, from the multigraph down to the well-nigh archaic hectograph are used, of course, for local and immediate purposes; but regular revolutionary literature is being smuggled from abroad. The radio is a great help. There are broadcasting stations in Moscow, Strassburg, and elsewhere which send out news in German. Those who have the stronger receiving sets and who know how to handle them when the Gestapo attempts to silence the forbidden waves, can get information about what is going on abroad—and in Germany as well. To a certain extent this thwarts the rigid censorship which suppresses all news that could give encouragement to the "domestic enemy."

Underground Austria

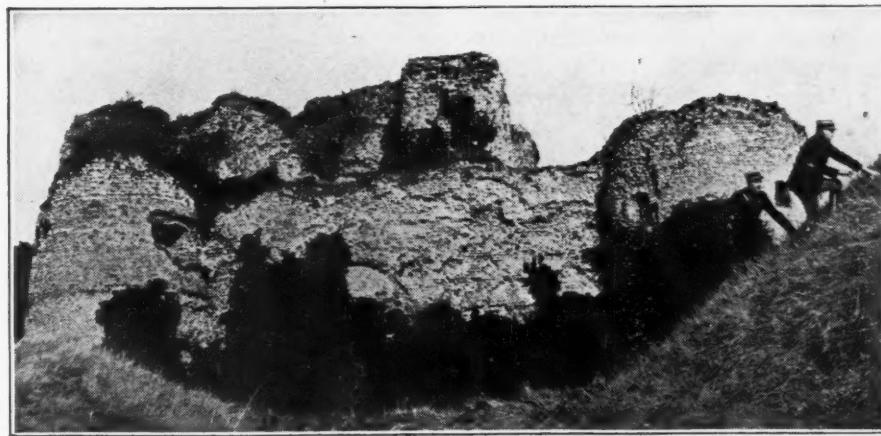
Outside of Russia, Germany, and Italy there are a few smaller countries

in which suppression of all political parties has been carried out in a "totalitarian" manner. These include Greece, Turkey, Portugal and Austria. Portugal still has some underground remnants of the once influential anarcho-syndicalist movement, while in Greece the Communists represent what is left of opposition to the military dictatorship. Post-war Turkey—except for some desperate, futile protests on the part of the old-time orthodox elements—has hardly shown any political oppo-

Communists, who hitherto had been practically without any influence.

Outlawed Communists

Some European countries are in the curious position of being neither totalitarian nor democratic. In most cases they represent more or less veiled military dictatorships which maintain certain outward characteristics of political democracy. Some of them show strong fascist tendencies—yet so far they have refrained from suppressing all political



Globe

UNCOVERING THE "CAGOULARDS": French police search an ancient chateau for fascist arms caches.

sition to the unlimited authority of its westernizing Ghazi.

Austria, among all these "authoritarian" states, occupies a position apart. This country had had for a half a century a well-organized labor movement, German style. Yet the situation there was unlike that in the Reich after the War: there had been no outraged national pride—only bureaucrats and army officers used to be "patriots" in Austria. There had been no split in the labor movement, nor was there a spell-binding Führer to capitalize that effective trinity of anti-Semitism, anti-radicalism, and "anti-capitalism." Moreover, the fascist camp itself has been split into two hostile armies: the Nazis, who are in favor of complete union with Germany, and the Clerico-Fascists or Austro-Fascists, who want an independent Catholic Austria.

As a result, the Socialists were able to maintain their hold upon a large part of their former following and to accomplish something which hitherto has been considered a contradiction in terms—the creation of an *underground mass movement*. The bulk of the formerly organized workers has remained loyal to the old leaders who are either in hiding or in exile. The disappointment caused by the triumph of the Fascists in 1934 drove some of the younger elements into the ranks of the

opposition. Only the Communists have been outlawed in these countries. They are not allowed to hold meetings, to form societies or to publish newspapers.

In some of these countries this attitude towards the Communist movement is largely a hangover of the revolutionary events of the post-War period and of the early twenties; this refers particularly to Hungary, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria where the Communists were once quite influential. Driven underground, and in some cases subjected to a ruthless policy of extermination, they have been reduced to the level of insignificant sects. In those countries which border upon Russia, such as Rumania, Poland, and the Baltic republics, the official ban upon communist activities reflects military rather than political reasons. Any political movement endorsing the Soviet system in territories which, formerly belonging to Russia, either in whole or in part, is bound to be regarded by military authorities as suggesting the possibility of a Red invasion. As a result the Communists are treated not merely as political opponents, but as traitors—all of which, in a world now seething with nationalist passions, has greatly contributed to discredit them with the masses.

One of the peculiarities of the Spanish civil war is the revolutionary under-

ground or near-underground movement directed against the Leftist government of Loyalist Spain. The conspirators in the case are themselves divided into two groups: the extreme-left-wing anarchists, dubbed by their opponents as the "Incontrolados," and the P. O. U. M., *i.e.*, the Workers Party of Marxist Unity. Each of the two groups represents a tendency similar to that of the Bolsheviks during the days of the Kerensky regime, when under the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets" they demanded all the power for their own party. Both of these Spanish extreme left groups believe that the policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie, as supported by the Right wing Socialists, the Communists, and, to a large extent, the official anarcho-syndicalist trade-unions, is mistaken, and that the establishment of a socialized economy alone could arouse in the masses that enthusiasm which would overcome the forces of Franco. The government parties, in turn, and particularly the now very influential Communists, in order to discredit their extreme-left opponents, have accused the latter of being the conscious or unconscious tools of the "Fifth Column," *i.e.* of the espionage and sabotage sections of the fascists on Loyalist territory. It is these accusations, coupled with the suppression of their papers, mass arrests, and assassinations of their leaders, which have forced these two groups to carry on their activities underground, while at the same time fighting at the front against the common enemy.

Fascist Conspirators

There is another Underground Europe—the world of fascist conspiracies at work in those countries in which the totalitarian system, or their own brand of a "corporate state," has not been established as yet.

The discovery of secret arms deposits effected by the French authorities in November 1937 established the existence of a vast plot aiming at the overthrow of the Popular Front government and at the inauguration of a fascist dictatorship topped by a figure-head king. The first reference to that organization was made in 1936 when the monarchist daily *Action Française* ridiculed and attached the name of "Cagoulards" (Hooded Ones) to a group of its own dissenting followers who advocated underground activities and the seizure of power. In the summer of 1937 they were generally credited with a very cunning stratagem: the blowing up of the

building of the French National Association of Manufacturers. The conspirators hoped the deed would be charged to extreme-Leftist fanatics and thus arouse public opinion against the Popular Front regime, which is supported by both bourgeois and working class elements. It is believed that the enormous financial contributions which rendered possible the vast purchases of arms began to flow in after the country-wide "sit-down" strikes of

ambitions towards independence or, at least, autonomy. These have now adopted the terminology of fascism.

Spies, Spies, Spies

Plotting against each other and betrayal to the police are the two "occupational" diseases plaguing every revolutionary movement. In some people the ever present danger of betrayal calls forth a mild form of insanity, the mania of seeing stool-pigeons everywhere—even in one's closest friends and associates. The maniac's suspicion is usually wrong—yet the number of spies in the ranks of the conspirators is appalling.

Faced by the ever improving methods of the various secret services, the modern conspirator has hardly a chance to remain active for a long time. The German Gestapo, the Italian OVRA, the Russian GPU have at their disposal not only unlimited resources with which to buy corrupted or wavering elements among the conspirators but also have in their ranks men who are entirely familiar with all the devices of their quarry, having once themselves been active revolutionists, even terrorists, before the seizure of power had converted the poachers into game-wardens. All these services—black, brown and red—have emancipated themselves from the nineteenth century "prejudices" and scruples against the use of the inhuman medieval methods of physical and psychical torture. They also send out murderers to foreign countries to do away with the leaders of the émigré conspirators.

Yet, with all these odds against it, Underground Europe goes on living and hoping for the downfall of its enemies. Aside from specific fascist groups which, like the Austrian Nazis, have the support of a strong neighbor, or, like the "Cagoulards," are backed by influential military and financial spheres, the conspirators do not hope to bring about a revolution by their own efforts. In their opinion a popular uprising that would overthrow a hated regime usually occurs spontaneously, more often than not as a result of a lost war, or at least of initial military reverses. The secret societies play their part in helping to prepare the minds and in organizing the new order after the passing of the old. And then the game starts all over again. For the passions and ambitions aroused by a sudden change of power inevitably result in new conspiracies prompted by the loftiest enthusiasms and the basest appetites.



CAMILLO BERNERI: Leader of Spanish anarchists, assassinated by the Communists in May, 1937.

1936 which seriously frightened many representatives of big business.

Most influential of all the fascist organizations working underground in the other countries of Europe are the Nazis of Austria who are in favor of complete union with Germany. They are supported by large sections of the urban middle classes—university students, ex-non-commissioned officers, and plain adventurers. They are subsidized, armed and directed by the ruling party of Germany.

Ideologically related to the German and Austrian Nazis, with their all-pervading emphasis upon the Jewish problem, are the underground Fascists of Poland. They are called "National Radicals" and constitute the militant offshoot of the Rightist National Democratic Party—the party of landed aristocrats, business leaders and Catholic clergy.

Underground organizations with fascist tendencies have been carrying on their activities in all the "succession" states of Central and Eastern Europe, whose territories include substantial racial minorities, nourishing their own

MODEL FARMS IN MEXICO

By MAURICE HALPERIN

LESS than two hundred and fifty miles from the Texas line, in a region of north central Mexico known as the Laguna, the Mexican Government is conducting an experiment in cooperative farming quite unparalleled in the Americas, or for that matter, anywhere in the world. Some have compared this bold undertaking with the Scandinavian and others with the Russian system of collectivized agriculture, but it has certain distinctive features which make it peculiarly Mexican, as intrinsically native as the *tortilla* and the *tamale*.

As its name implies, the Laguna is an area which periodically becomes a vast swamp covered with stagnant water. Once a year the Nazas River, originating in the nearby mountains of Durango, goes on a rampage. Millions of cubic feet of turgid water race down its dry, rocky bed and spill into a flat, arid valley. Much like the ancient Nile, the Nazas deposits tons of silt where it floods, and this silt, rich in organic matter, turns the Laguna into a fertile plain, a veritable oasis surrounded by parched, forbidding lands and bleak, barren mountains.

Naturally the Laguna territory was always highly coveted, and so from early colonial times on into the present decade this region, most of it staked off into huge latifundia, became the object of furious controversies and often of bloody conflicts. During the last half-century, with the help of an elaborate system of irrigation, the Laguna has become one of the finest and most profitable cotton-growing regions in the world, with wheat as a dependable secondary crop.

According to the census of 1930, practically the entire three and three-quarter million acres (of which about 15 per cent can now be cultivated) in the Laguna belonged to 221 individuals or corporations. This represents an average of 17,000 acres per plantation, though a number of holdings went above 50,000 acres. In addition, there were several hundred farmers who clung to small parcels, some no larger

than 15 acres and most of them under 125.

This system of landholding was largely responsible for the fact that the Laguna, especially in recent years, had become a chronic national problem. There were several aspects to this problem, but by far the most serious and urgent was the increasingly bitter and violent feeling between the planters and the peons. The latter were, strictly speaking, agricultural workers rather than peasants, and so they adopted trade union methods to obtain better wages.

The first cotton-workers' organization dates back to 1921. A long series of labor-employer difficulties culminated in the tragic events of June, 1930, when 21 peons were shot to death and 11 wounded during a manifestation in Matamoros. This, however, was only the beginning of more serious disturbances. Wages in 1932 dropped to 33 centavos (less than an American dime) per day. Spurred on by hunger, the Laguneros strengthened their union. Another riot in 1935 claimed several more victims. Finally, in August, 1936, the union called a gen-

eral strike to secure better pay and collective contracts from the planters.

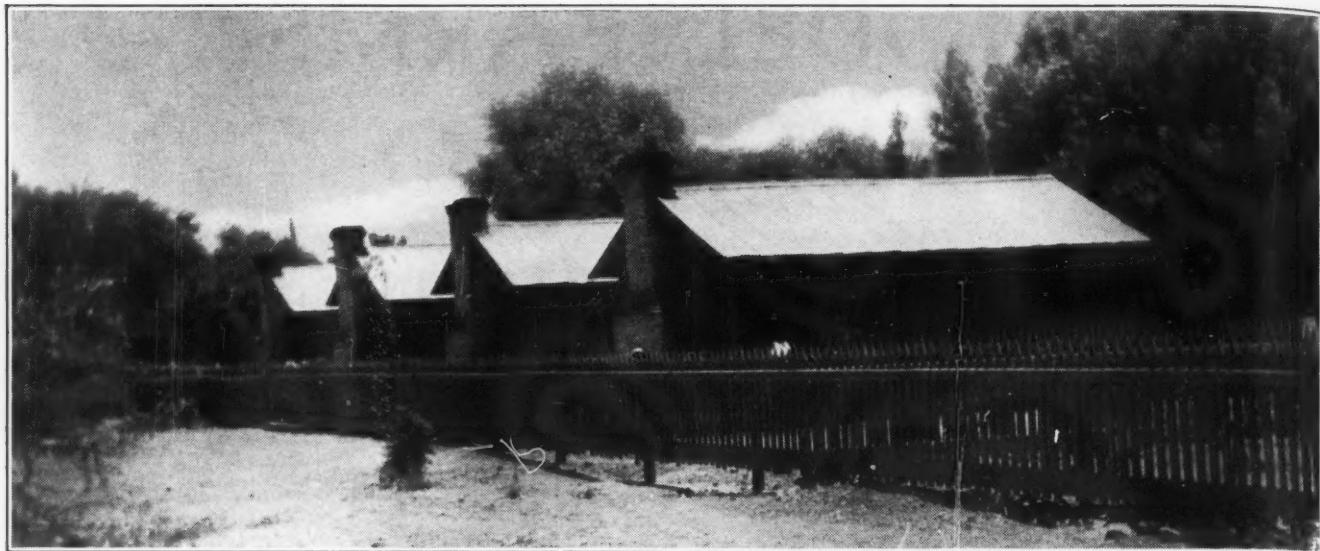
When the strike went into its third week, endangering the crop and forecasting economic disaster, President Cárdenas called upon the workers to return to the fields, promising to secure them a satisfactory settlement. He kept his word. On October 6, he issued the historic decree ordering the expropriation of nearly one million acres and their distribution among the plantation workers.

The act of expropriation was not, in itself, an unusual occurrence. It is plainly sanctioned by Mexico's constitution and since the beginning of 1935, for example, approximately 24,000,000 acres were cut away from large, feudal estates and turned over to landless peasants in the form of *ejidos* (pronounced á-hée-dough), or inalienable village communal lands. Most of the *ejidos*, however, have been organized on the basis of small, individual lots suitable only for bare subsistence farming. The chief significance of the Laguna land reform lies in the establishment of cooperative *ejidos*, supplied with abundant government



Courtesy Mexican National Museum of Industry; photo by Gutman and Pomar

DUG-OUT HOMES: Such were the living quarters of the Laguna peons under the old system. As the name implies, the Laguna periodically becomes a vast swamp.



Courtesy Mexican National Museum of Industry; photo by Gutman and Pomar

THE NEW ORDER: Cottages for cooperative farmers are now made of wood and of dobie brick. In contrast to the foul, unsightly shacks and caves these homes have windows and concrete floors.

credit, and dedicated to large-scale, mechanized agriculture.

Cooperation in Practice

The advantages of the cooperative method in the Laguna region are so obvious that once the land was expropriated, there was no question of any other type of organization. In early December, through the regular legal procedure, nearly 270 *ejidos* were set up (they now number over 280) including altogether some 30,000 ex-peons who, with their families, make up a total population estimated at 150,000 people. The *ejidos* vary considerably in size and in the number of members, depending chiefly on the original distribution of the population among the plantations and the quality of the land granted. All in all, about 250,000 acres were cultivated this year, 90 per cent of it in cotton.

On the other hand, each cooperative operates on a similar plan. Every *ejido* is thus a self-governing, democratic community whose lands are worked in common for both mutual and individual benefit. Profits are not shared among the communities, so that each *ejido* must stand on its own feet. This makes for healthy inter-community competition, and there is a noticeable difference in efficiency and earning power among them.

Then, as an incentive for individual effort, the *ejidatario*, or cooperative farmer, is paid primarily for what he himself produces and only for those days he works. There are standard daily wages ranging from one and a half pesos for common labor to six pesos for mechanics, tractor operators, and other skilled workers (a peso is

worth 28 American cents). Then, when the crop is harvested, and all expenses including wages are deducted, the remaining sum or profit is divided up among the *ejidatarios* on the basis of the number of days worked rather than the type of work done.

Thus, while individual effort is rewarded, the community spirit is preserved. The writer witnessed the distribution of wheat profits at several *ejidos*. In one, 7,600 pesos were divided up among 98 farmers, and though a majority of them received in the neighborhood of 80 to 85 pesos, some earned only 35 and others as high as 135 pesos. In another, 66 *ejidatarios* received a total of 53,000 pesos, with the high man getting over 1,400 pesos and the low man 290. However, the first cooperative is expecting a much higher yield for its cotton, while the second produces very little cotton.

Credit Facilities

The initial survival of the Laguna cooperatives depends to a large extent upon credit facilities. According to Mexican law, only the land was expropriated, and funds were needed for machinery, mules, seed, and other necessities, including wages until the crops could be harvested. These funds were supplied by the Federal Government through its National Bank of Ejido Credit. For this first year of operation a total of some thirty million pesos were turned over to the *ejidos*, about two thirds in the form of one-year loans for operating expenses and one third in the form of five-year loans for tractors, trucks, electric water pumps, and other heavy equipment, practically all of it American made.

The long-term loan is payable in five equal annual installments, and both loans bear eight per cent interest.

To administer these funds the bank has set up its regional headquarters in Torreón. In addition, it has organized the co-operatives into twenty-four districts, with a "zone chief," employed by the bank, in charge of each. In turn, every *ejido* is at the same time a "credit society" with an elected "delegate" (usually the *ejido* president) to serve as representative of his community in its dealing with the bank.

The National Bank of Ejido Credit, however, is much more than a financial institution. It is also the agency through which the Government supplies much needed technical assistance and social aid. At least half the cooperative farmers are illiterate. They are capable workers, as far as traditional Mexican agricultural methods go, but totally ignorant of modern, scientific soil cultivation. They have lived in unspeakable squalor all their lives, without even the most elementary notions of personal or public hygiene.

Hence, the "zone chief" is more than an administrative official; he is a trained agronomist who lives and works with his *ejidatarios*, training them in the best methods of mechanized farming. The bank also employs engineers, economists, veterinarians and other technicians. It has set up various medical units which have attended to more than 70,000 patients and performed over 5,000 operations. It cooperates with the Federal Department of Education in setting up new schools for both children and adults. It serves as a central purchasing agency of machinery and supplies and together with

the government's treasury department helps market the crops.

Cooperative Complexities

Viewing the Laguna experiment from the inside, as the writer did, one is as much impressed by its closely interwoven complexities as by what it has accomplished or failed to achieve. This year's cotton crop is estimated to reach one hundred thousand bales, 30 per cent below reasonable expectation. This was due principally to a lack of sufficient water, but not all the blame can be laid at nature's door. The change from semi-feudal to cooperative farming involves innumerable social adjustments, many of which interfere with productive efficiency. Besides the obvious mechanical difficulties of reorganizing community work, disputes arise between *ejidos* and officials of the bank, between rival labor groups within the *ejidos*, between the *ejidos* and the former plantation owners, and between the latter and government agrarian authorities.

With the passing of time, many of these controversies have already subsided. Eventually most of them should disappear entirely. Those problems relating to the dispossessed landlords, however, are still troublesome. Each planter was allowed to keep the best 360 acres of his estate, the maximum size for a "small" farm, which, according to Mexican law, cannot be affected by expropriation. Thus the old *haciendas* still remain in the area, and there is bound to be friction between them and their former peons. In some cases the landlords deliberately damaged the irrigation ditches in order to break

down the water supply of the *ejidos*.

This, however, is by no means true of all planters or their agents. None, of course, is happy about his situation, but many accept their fate with a good deal of calm. The writer talked at length with one large landholder. He is quite naturally critical of the Laguna situation and feels somewhat bitter about his losses. He has, moreover, failed to apply for the agrarian bonds which the Government offers as compensation for his expropriated acres, because he would receive only enough to cover the declared tax evaluation of his land, which is much less than its real value.

Then again, he could not convert these bonds into cash, though he might exchange them for 40-year government debt bonds which today are accepted at par value only for payment of taxes. Furthermore, he is unable to come to terms with the government on the amount due him for his wells, electric equipment, warehouses, cotton gins, and other improvements for which the Government promises to pay cash. Perhaps he also has hidden hopes that some day his land will be returned to him, and he would rather not jeopardize his title to it by accepting payment.

"Something to Eat Every Day"

At the present time, however, there is scant prospect that he will ever get his vast cotton fields back. The cooperative farmers of the Laguna, for one thing, are determined to keep their newly acquired lands, since their lot has been immeasurably improved under the new system. For a full year now, they have had something to eat every

day, and this novel experience has been exceedingly pleasant. Most of them can now purchase a few of the simpler necessities of civilized living; some have even bought sewing machines. In many communities neatly plastered dobie brick houses, small and simple, but with windows and concrete floors, have already begun to replace the foul, unsightly shacks and caves in which they live. There are new schools, basketball courts, and plans for sanitary drinking water.

To consider the Laguna experiment as a total success or total failure, as some have done, is mere wishful thinking. Relatively speaking, however, and in terms of the immediate welfare of the Laguna farmers and the nation as a whole, the setting up of the cooperative system has undoubtedly been justified. On that score, the Federal Government is entirely satisfied. The *ejidos* are paying their debts and a plan is already in operation whereby eventually the government bank will become the property of the cooperatives. As a permanent solution to the problem of water supply, the Government is building a giant earth dam, possibly the largest in the world, at Palmito, 125 miles west of the Laguna proper. When completed (in 1940 according to the plan), it will supply enough water to double the present area under cultivation. Thus it expects cotton production, in a short time, to reach much higher levels than ever before. Finally, it has demonstrated its confidence in the Laguna cooperatives by initiating a similar project, on an even larger scale, in the henequin-growing areas of the Yucatan.



Courtesy Mexican National Museum of Industry; photo by Gutman and Pomar

LOADING WATERMELON: For a full year now, the cooperative farmers at Laguna have had something to eat every day. It is a novel experience, exceedingly pleasant. A few have been able to purchase the simpler necessities of civilized living.

EUROPE'S ANTI-SEMITIC TWINS

I. Rumania

By H. J. SELIGMANN

IT IS one of the ironies and apparent contradictions of the present situation of the Jews in Rumania that a height of agitation and overt action against them has come at a time of relative national prosperity.

I say apparent contradiction, because it is usually the case that anti-Semitism grows and finds fertile soil when economic conditions are excessively bad and a scapegoat is needed. But in this land of fable, of ox-carts winding slowly along white roads; of great heaps of gold-bearing sand in the mountains with extracting plants casually alongside; of corn fields twenty miles wide; of oil wells and of black-eyed peasants in white pantaloons and embroidered vests, contradiction must be expected. So that with the capital city, Bucharest, a scene of such tearing up of streets, of building of new and modern buildings as one might expect in New York; with the boulevards humming with new automobiles; with prices of grain, oil, and lumber rising—there has been nevertheless a tremendous crescendo in anti-Jewish agitation.

For the causes of this agitation one must look to internal political grounds, and to international relations as they affect internal politics in Rumania.

The December elections resulted in a state of complete political chaos. The Tatarescu Government received only 154 out of 387 mandates. The second strongest group, the National Peasant Party, gained 86. The other parties bidding for power, but with less success, were the *Totul Pentru Tzara* (All for the Fatherland) Party, of which the backbone is Codreanu's Iron Guard; the anti-Semitic party of *Vaida Voyevod*, and the National Christian Party of Cuza and Goga, which flaunts the swastika over its headquarters in Bucharest.

It was to this last violently anti-Jewish and pro-German group, which received less than ten per cent of the total votes, that King Carol finally entrusted the task of forming a government.

No minority appeared strong enough to rule, and factional disputes elimi-

nated the possibility of a strong combination of parties. The result of this political bankruptcy would seem inevitably to be a fascist regime based upon the dominant issue on which the whole election campaign was based. It is an issue which has been so thoroughly dinned into the ears and consciousness of the population of Rumania that no party can take an opposition stand on it without imperiling a large portion of its votes.

That issue is anti-Semitism. All roads in the examination of political currents in Rumania lead inevitably to this one issue. A press which for the most part hardly cares to conceal that it is subsidized by funds coming from outside Rumania proclaims the issue day after day. It does so in terms familiar to those acquainted with Streicher's *Stuermer*. In a single issue of one of these papers, *Porunca Vremii*, one might find: a slogan urging Rumanian women to buy not a single pin from the Jews; a leading article purporting to tell how Jews sell their God; a symposium on how to get rid of Jews, with a contribution from a former cabinet minister; a Rumanian catechism pointing out not only that Jews have no equal rights but these rights are mere "constitutional fetishism—a laughable heritage of the nineteenth century."

Press Propaganda

The press of which this kind of journalism is typical is dominant in Rumania. It was so much so that last year it was physically dangerous to be seen buying or reading a liberal or democratic newspaper; and organized gangs of hooligans burned such papers in the streets. This year there are armed sentries guarding the entrance to the liberal paper, *Dimineata*. And on the train, crossing the frontier into Poland, a woman with whom I had been talking and who made no secret of her aversion to exaggerated nationalism, spread out a copy of one of these nationalistic sheets, *Universul*, on her lap, remarking apologetically that it might have a good effect on the officials with whom she would have to deal.

Two semi-fascist states edge nearer to Germany in their racial policies

In Bucharest people point out the large white 12-story building, estimated to have cost 60 million lei (\$400,000), recently erected for *Curentul*, one of the leading reactionary newspapers. The circulation of *Curentul* is 40,000. It has few advertisements. Gossip, undenied by the paper, has it that the funds to finance the building came from a foreign country.

Naturally, Germany is most frequently mentioned as the source of funds financing anti-Semitic sheets. It should not be forgotten that, apart from the convenience for Rumanian politicians of anti-Semitism as a political red herring to obscure all other issues, it also represents Germany's chief instrument for political penetration in Eastern Europe. Three or four years ago there was no such thing in Rumania as a dominant anti-Semitic press. Today there are 40 such dailies and probably more than 100 weeklies.

France may still control Rumanian foreign policy and military preparation. General Gamelin may inspect the fortifications in Rumania's Hungarian frontier. But German anti-Semitism, now one of the chief export commodities of the Third Reich, reaches groups in the population which diplomacy does not touch. Utilize the channels of the increasingly active trade between Germany and Rumania to promulgate anti-Semitism, and you create a bond of sympathy between the two nations which might be extremely important in war time.

Commercial Exclusion

The cynical brutality with which the campaign of slander against Jews is conducted in the press, has its counterpart in the administrative measures intended to deprive them of citizenship and of the opportunity for earning a livelihood. The National Bank declines to rediscount notes issuing from Jewish businesses. Government-backed cooperatives take over trade in products formerly dealt in by Jews. Despite the failure of the Government to pass a law requiring employment of 75 per cent "native Rumanians," administrative pressure accomplishes the same end; and Jewish employers must either dismiss trusted employees or carry needless help on their payroll.

There may be a shortage of engineers for the building operations that are rapidly transforming Bucharest

into a modern city. But Jews will not be given jobs. There may be only 1400 doctors for the 16 million people who live on the land out of the total population of 18 million. But Jewish doctors are excluded from medical courses in Rumanian universities, only four having been admitted this past year. None of the four could attend the lectures because they were not admitted to the University grounds. The four Jewish attorneys employed by the Bucharest municipality were given plain warning by a group of hooligans that, if they did not "voluntarily" resign, their lives would be in danger. As there is no hesitancy in beating Jewish lawyers and inflicting serious bodily injuries, their positions are hardly secure.

In the field of export and import, owing to currency and other restrictions, permits are required for all operations. Jewish firms find extreme difficulty in obtaining permits, as they do also in meeting the complicated and rigorous tax exactions. One respected Jewish merchant in a town not far from Bucharest hanged himself because the taxes demanded of him had ruined him.

Even in the field of education, the process goes relentlessly forward of inseminating and disseminating the anti-Jewish virus. Pastor Dominic N. Ionescu published in Bucharest this year a history of the Rumanian Orthodox Church. It is intended for official use in the fourth class of the high school (Gymnasium). In the cover design, clearly visible under a magnifying glass, is the swastika. Inside the cover of this official text book are poems in which Christ is portrayed as lamenting the torments inflicted upon him on the cross by the "Jew dogs."

The systematic exclusion of Jews from commerce, the professions, official appointments, and the handicrafts, is producing a rapid pauperization of all groups. A well informed observer estimated that from 60 to 70 per cent of the Jews in Bucharest had no bed of their own—that all but a third of the Jews had to share a bed with others and he said it was not uncommon for from two to five persons to share one bed.

Moreover the Jewish institutional relief, formerly supported as is the work of other religious groups out of taxes, is now being deprived of this aid. Their proportion to the general population as taxpayers entitled the Jewish community institutions to 80 million lei in government subventions annually. That was cut down in 1936

to six million lei and in 1937 to one million which has not yet been paid.

All of this administrative anti-Semitism is a response to the extreme nationalism, financed from outside Rumania and preached by such pure-blooded Rumanians as Codreanu whose father was a Pole and whose mother was a German; Jorga whose mother was Greek; Ioanitescu of Serbian descent, and Myrto Edward of Italian parentage and nationality.

It has its counterpart in the persecution of the other minorities included



Henry C. Wolfe

PROPAGANDA: European anti-Semitic posters. The top one is inscribed, "From Moscow to Madrid, that's the way they work." The lower one, "The fate of a nation is destruction if it is not racially conscious."

in the Rumanian borders: the 1,800,000 former Hungarians, and the Russians in the province of Bessarabia. The total number of the national minorities in Rumania is not far short of 4,500,000 or nearly 25 per cent of the entire population. They too are to have a less favored position in the Rumanian nation and are to regard

themselves and be regarded as cultural inferiors. Of these minority groups the Jews are the smallest, numbering 800,000 or 4.6 per cent of the population. It is this which makes them especially vulnerable. Not only are they weak in numbers but they lack any protector save the conscience of mankind.

The atmosphere which has been created is such that from the King down, no politician and no party dares to take a stand against anti-Semitism. The King has never officially received any Jewish delegation. Octavian Goga, the new Premier, has stated as his program, "Rumania for Rumanians, based on Christ, King, and Nation." Even Mihalache, leader of the National Peasant Party, announced in September that he was for "solving the Jewish problem in Rumania." So, whatever direction the December elections might take it was certain that they would be preceded and accompanied by a torrent of the most unbridled defamation of Jews. There were, as there have been before, direct incitements to violence. It is clear that for the present the position of the Jewish minority, the whipping boy of Rumanian politics, can only become more difficult.

The new Government's first move, upon its accession to power was the threat of widespread anti-Semitic measures. If these result in depriving Jews of their citizenship, their position will become catastrophic. To be deprived of citizenship in Europe today is to lose the right to work, to earn a living. So that despite the difficulties of the Jewish population in Poland, subjected to economic warfare, boycott and terrorism, the situation in Rumania is potentially more dangerous. The Government is deliberate in its campaign of economic extirpation. And a situation might easily be created calling for deliberation by the League of Nations.

The parties have adopted Hitlerite slogans and methods. The people are being subjected to an unremitting flood of scurrility which can hardly fail, in time, to produce something of its intended effect. That the press campaign and agitation have not produced more violence thus far, is due first to the fact that the printed matter is not taken too seriously; and second to a decency among the people which is illustrated by the remark a peasant made when he was urged to attack a Jew: "He is even poorer than I am," said the peasant. "Why, then, should I beat him?"

II. Poland

By EMIL LENGYEL

THE recent outbreak of virulent anti-Semitism in Poland has aroused international attention. The American Section of the International League for Academic Freedom, associated with 110 universities, appealed to the Polish Ministry of Education to abolish the humiliating "ghetto benches" for Jewish students. A few days afterwards, late in December, the Committee on International Relations of the American Association of University Professors, five Nobel Prize winners, 59 university and college presidents, and 107 deans and professors, all non-Jews, condemned the introduction of "ghetto benches" as "absolutely destructive of gains in human progress." Almost at the same time, the American Committee on Religious Rights and Minorities made public a non-sectarian appeal to the Polish Government and nation, on behalf of Polish Jews.

Extreme nationalism in Poland has declared war on moderation. Fascistic ideology is spreading rapidly, partly an importation from the German neighbor, and partly native to the soil. Efforts to set up a totalitarian state have been intensified. The Polish Government has proclaimed its wish to get a part of the Jewish population out of the country. It is taking a deep interest in the solution of the Palestine problem. The French Government is reported to have expressed its willingness to study the possibility of opening up Madagascar or New Caledonia to Jewish settlement. Foreign Minister Yvon Delbos of France tried to impress upon the Warsaw authorities the desirability of keeping anti-Semitism under control, when he visited the Polish capital in December.

Anti-Jewish agitation in Poland is being carried on mostly by two extreme reactionary parties, camouflaged as progressives. The National Democratic Party, whose members are briefly referred to as the "Endeks," has a long record of lawlessness covering the last two decades of Polish independence. It is violently anti-everything, including the Germans, Russians, Czechoslovaks, and the non-Endek Poles. The National Radical Party, known as "Nara," is the other semi-terroristic organization. Although it is less than four years old, it has acquired a name as a movement of ag-

gressively anti-Semitic national-bolshevism in a Nazi-fascist shape.

What form has anti-Semitism taken in Poland, and to what extent is the government involved in it? What is the background of the anti-Jewish movement?

The "ghetto benches," which have so aroused American educators, are Jim Crow sections for Jewish students in Polish schools of higher learning. They originated at the University of Wilno, the rector of which authorized professors in February 1937 to assign special benches to Jewish students. The Jews, however, refused to occupy these seats, were forced to leave their classes, but were re-admitted later on the condition that they would share a special section with other so-called non-Poles. In the summer semester the idea spread to other universities.

At Warsaw University Endek and Nara students adopted the policy of stamping students' cards "left side" or "right side," depending upon their religion. In the Polytechnic Institute of Warsaw, according to the Congress Bulletin, Jewish students were assigned seats marked "W" (*Wzajemna Pomoc*), while the Poles were given seats in section "B" (*Bratnia Pomoc*), denoting the initials of their organizations. The Jewish students of this institute remained standing throughout the lectures.

In the universities of Cracow and Lwow, in the formerly Austrian part of Poland, Endek students ordered the Jews to take seats at the left in the classroom. When they refused to comply, many of them were beaten up, but guards and the police, otherwise so eager to interfere, this time refused to stop the scuffle. Some professors sided with the trouble-makers, others remained neutral or took an opposite stand.

Non-Aryan students were refused admission to classes on "Jewless Days" introduced at Warsaw and Wilno universities. "Only a separate university for the Jews will restore order," wrote the newspaper *ABC*, mouthpiece of the Naras. "We must endeavor to have Polish universities closed permanently," Wilno extreme nationalists exhorted their followers on handbills. "In Poland we have too much so-called culture." The *ABC* announced triumphantly: "The introduction of the ghetto in the schools is a great victory for academic youth. We are attaining 'Nara' demands."

Article No. 7 of the Polish Constitution says: "The rights of a citizen to exert influence on public affairs will

be measured by the value of his efforts and services for a common good. Neither origin, religion, sex or nationality can constitute a cause of limitation of such rights." But, it is charged, Jewish rights to education have been abridged. In the academic year 1924-1925 an unofficial *numerus clausus* was introduced for Jewish students. While total enrolment between 1921 and 1935 increased from 34,266 to 47,161, the number of Jewish students during the same period decreased from 8,426 to 6,207, dropping from 24.6 per cent to 13.2 per cent. This is still in excess of the proportion of Poland's Jewish population, which is slightly less than 10 per cent, but Jewish spokesmen assert that the basis of computation should be the proportion of the Jews to the urban population, 25 per cent, if there is to be any limitation of numbers, which, they maintain, is contrary to the law.

The "ghetto bench" is, however, merely one of the problems of Polish Jewry. More than 3,000,000 Jews of Poland are passing through a tragic era. The majority of them are facing slow starvation, and only a thin upper crust of industrialists, bankers, and professionals is self-sustaining. Again Polish Jews are forced to trade among themselves, and endless hours of work and futile waiting are rewarded with pittances that leave them demoralized and undernourished. In the poverty-stricken ghettos, earnings of \$10 a month are considered exceptional. In countless ways the Jew's chance of filling his stomach is restricted. A few samples are given in the following.

The Polish state enjoys a unique position as the country's largest employer. It owns and controls the railway, postal, telegraph, and telephone systems. It is heavily engaged in mining and foundry enterprises, trading concerns and forest reserves. The government's monopolies include salt, tobacco, spirits, matches, and lotteries. Out of the more than million persons employed by the government, less than two per cent are Jews, and their number is decreasing.

One of the grievances of the Jews of Poland is about recent laws governing the crafts. Under the new regulation, young people may be apprenticed only to registered masters, but Jewish artisans are refused these guild certificates, so that only one out of 18 of them has the right to hire help. Thus the Czarist system of forcing Jews into trade is perpetuated.

Jews are run out of business by disproportionate taxes, and the collection

methods are said to be brutal. "Notwithstanding the exorbitant taxation," says a Jewish complaint submitted to the Warsaw government, "the Polish authorities discriminate against the Jews where employment and work projects, credit-grants to cooperative and credit societies, and subventions to Jewish communal institutions are concerned."

We learn that in Warsaw, where Jews comprise 30 per cent of the population, less than 8 per cent of the employed on relief projects are Jews. Village cooperative societies are extended state credit and other forms of assistance for the purpose of eliminating Jewish traders. As a glaring example of anti-Jewish legislation, the law for the mechanization of the bakeries is quoted. This law provides that bakery licenses may be renewed only to owners of modernized bakeries, but, while non-Jews are given credit, Jews are left in the cold.

Unofficial Restrictions

The prevailing anti-Semitic policy has also infiltrated non-government organizations. A short time ago, the Barristers' Union introduced a *numerus clausus* for Jewish lawyers. The Physicians' Union imitated its example, but had to retract. In certain communities "Jewish market-days" are being propagandized. Boycotts of Jewish stores follow the traditional Nazi pattern.

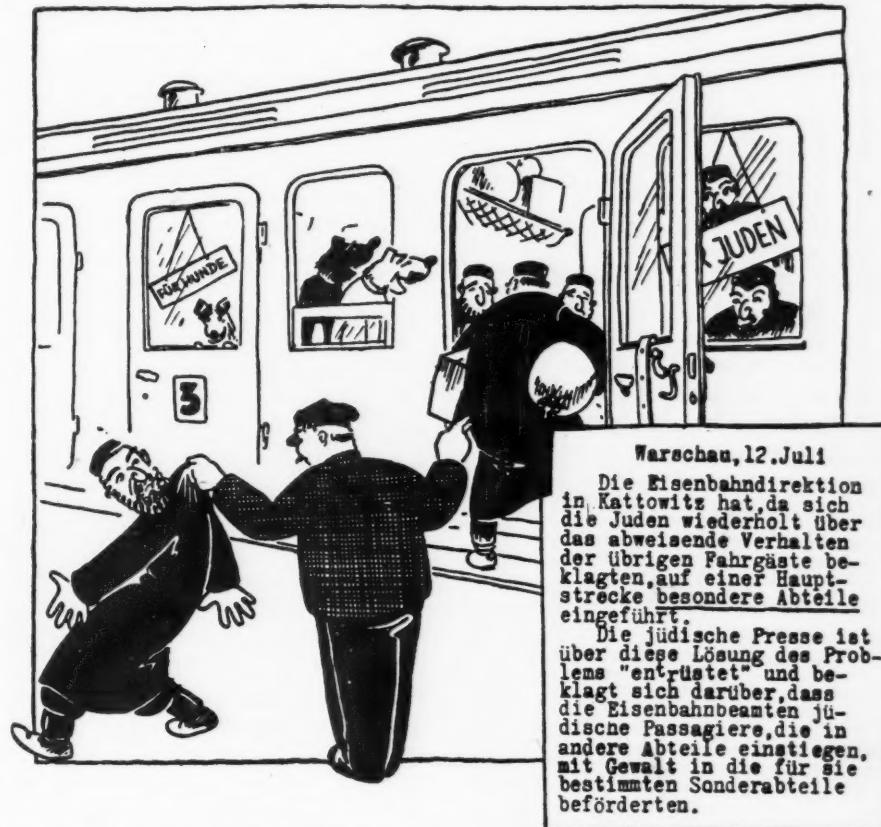
The extreme nationalists have inaugurated a reign of terror. The Prime Minister himself admitted more than 300 attacks on Jews in the Bialystok district alone. In 1936 at least 69 Jews were killed and 800 wounded in pogroms. Jewish property was bombed, synagogues and cemeteries were desecrated. Several Jewish newspapers were confiscated for printing reports about the closing of a Jewish benevolent society in Germany. At the same time, anti-Semitic publications are allowed to go on a rampage.

The Government itself denies its anti-Semitic bias. Professor Ignatz Moscicki, President of the Republic, is said to look upon the persecution of the Jews with displeasure. Marshal Edward Rydz-Smigly, who is now being built up synthetically as the country's Fuehrer, was not anti-Jewish in his younger days. But one of the key-men of the cabinet, Foreign Minister Colonel Josef Beck, is violently in love with Nazism. The Camp of National Unity, founded by Colonel Adam Koc under government auspices, accepted anti-Semitism as a keystone of its pol-

icy last spring. The "Camp" is cast for the rôle of the all-inclusive movement of a semi-fascistic regime. It seems to be a compromise with the totalitarian principle, dear to the hearts of Hitler and Mussolini.

The Cabinet thus does not seem to be of one mind in regard to this vital issue. Some of its members are trying to remain true to the traditions of

The pre-war Poles were largely peasants. They were not encouraged to study. Today a new generation has arrived on the scene, suffering from pre-war traditions and the inability of post-War governments to help. It is looking for a scapegoat, and the Jew was created for that rôle, since he has no ambassadors and battleships to protect him. Poland's air is saturated with



MORE PROPAGANDA: A German-Polish newspaper shows a cartoon depicting a train with special carriages for dogs and for Jews.

young post-War Poland, nurtured into life by the late Marshal Josef Pilsudski. The Marshal was well acquainted with the martyrology of the Jews under the Russian regime. Some of his best fellow-fighters were Jews.

Tradition Plays Its Part

The tragic plight of the Polish Jews is partly due to history and tradition. The crisis is not today's making. Three-fourths of post-War Poland belonged to pre-War Russia. In the Czar's Empire the Jews were restricted to the cities of the Jim Crow section of the country, the Pale, today partly Polish and partly Russian Ukrainian. They could not acquire land or engage in crafts unless their ability to pay was in proportion with the Russian officials' capacity for bribes. Hence they had to become tradesmen and professionals. Today, about 74 per cent of the Polish Jews are tradesmen, mostly on a diminutive scale. Furthermore, they are city people.

Hitlerite obsession. The two countries are too close together and Germany's national individuality is too pronounced. Nationalism in Poland has come with a vengeance, intensified by the reaction to Russian internationalism. The suppressed emotions of a century and a half, when Poland was in bondage, have caused an excess of patriotism. The lure of the city is strong for the younger generation, and the peasants' sons want to be professionals and tradesmen. Their motto is "Poland for the Poles." Their Slavic temperament sometimes makes them go to extremes. They do not seem to realize that the Jews were at home on this soil for centuries. Nor do they let themselves remember the heroic part Jewish fighters for Polish independence played in their country's history. All they remember is today, and they are impatient to make their mark at the expense of their neighbor. The varnish of patriotism is very superficial. The struggle is on for a piece of bread.

BUILDING AND THE LABOR UNIONS

By HERBERT HARRIS

This is the sixth of a series of articles taken from a book by Mr. Harris to be published by the Yale University Press later this year. The seventh installment will appear in the March issue of Current History.

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THE building industry, a congeries of many diverse trades, is less a business than a form of speculation. On the one hand it is balance-wheel and barometer of American prosperity. It is a chief market for steel, stone, brick, paper, paint, glass. New buildings for factory, store, office, home immensely widen the demand for fan-belts, show-cases, filing cabinets and the almost endless array of commodities that come under the heading of household wares. In "good times" it employs about 2,165,000 workers annually. Millions of other wage-earners depend upon its highs, lows, and medians. It is the largest single disburser of wages in the United States. Its leading firms, in their complete service from the architect's first smudgy "rough" to the completed skyscraper challenging the wind's might and the lightnings of the rain, epitomize America's power-age efficiency.

On the other hand, the building industry is a symbol of what happens to men, money, morals, materials, and machines when competition becomes unbridled and gallops away down that road of rapacity which we colloquially and more candidly call racketeering. An unholy alliance between the corrupt and corrupting contractor, the boss in the back-room, and the union business agent still account for hundreds of schools, hospitals, courthouses, along with private structures, that give a new meaning to the word "jerry-built" and that have enriched the underworld's argot with the term "get a contract," used to describe every mode of earning a living as if all Americans were a race of pirates existing on extortion.

Whereas many participants in the building industry remain men of honor and probity, its unsavory practices have for two generations done much to lower our business ethics by the easy expedient of removing their foundation of simple honesty. Hence the

unions within that industry reflect a similar departure from the rules of virtue. Nowhere else in fact, is there to be found so cogent a proof of the axiom that unionism in America is merely the other side of capitalism's coin. It is the same coin. It is not a token of any other minting.

In general, four indigenous conditions keep the building industry in a state of turbulence and allow the doctrines of laissez-faire to reach a final ferocity. It is carried on out-of-doors. It resorts to that systemless system known as "contracting." It is mutable as mercury. It endows the union's business agent with the powers of a despot.

It differs from manufacturing, for example, in that the latter is usually conducted within a plant, its location fixed, its labor force relatively stable. A factory, moreover, has ample storage space for materials to meet emergencies, either for shutting down or for quickening operations. But the sheer bulkiness of building materials means that they have to be used promptly, especially in an urban area. They also have to be delivered on the site to "jibe" with the arrival of the thousand and one other ingredients that the modern edifice requires. Weather hazards of rain, sleet, or high-winds can slow down the process of erection to an appreciable extent, often stopping it entirely—a serious risk since most building has to be completed within a specified date on penalty of forfeit. If, for instance, a contractor fails to have an apartment house ready for the renting season, he faces great loss, perhaps bankruptcy.

And as if to confound confusion all the more, the task of putting up a building is only technically in the hands of a single contractor. He is, of course, legally responsible for fulfilling the terms of his accepted bid as to size and the time of completion. Yet he is usually a broker, parceling

out portions of the work to a myriad of sub-contracting specialists in structural steel skeletons, in brick-laying, in decoration, and the like. Too often he is merely a shoe-string speculator, animated more by hope and nerve than by knowledge, and properly belonging to the company of the faro-wheel or the roulette table. Moreover, the contractor, as a species, often travels from city to city whenever an old job is finished and a new job is beginning, and his labor force is almost as migratory. Its interests are not tied up with a single employer but with many. In 1921 the Hoover Committee on Waste in Industry found that "one man, in the course of five and one half years, worked for 76 different contractors, and was hired 108 times."

Yet the urgent necessity for maintaining a steady competent labor supply remains the chief cause of the contractor's vexations. He is, after all, always working against a deadline inexorable as fate, and speed is the essence of his effort. The sheer passage of time, the fads and customs of renting and moving, and "doing the house over" seasons all conspire to give the workers a bargaining advantage that they seldom enjoy elsewhere. Refusal to meet the wage and hour demands of his employees may make the contractor lose his shirt, since a strike in his particular industry is not so much a work-stoppage as a calamity. It expunges precious hours and days from a calendar that almost always is too short. If he fails to satisfy his workers, they lay down their tools with decision and dispatch and watch the clock tick their employer into terms. If he tries to hold out against union claims, his only recourse is to hire strike-breakers, who are usually wasteful and inefficient and who are in imminent danger of receiving a sock on the chin from some union-hired thug. In this regard, of course, the contractors have only themselves to blame for the introduction of such strong-arm methods. Around the turn of the century in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, they began to employ toughs and gunmen to beat up recalcitrant labor officials who insisted that union standards, such as the closed shop, be enforced. In retaliation, unionists engaged the services of "gorillas" to slug "scabs" or to dynamite a half-completed structure of a contractor who wouldn't recognize the validity of union rules. Long before prohibition raised gangsterism to its highest glory, employers and unionists

had done more than any other groups in the country to smooth the path for the shake-down artist who provides "protection" on a weekly fee, and for other racketeers.

Power for Labor Officials

Naturally the immense influence wielded by the building trades unions has endowed its labor officials with a power often abused. The exercise of that power centers chiefly in the person of the union's "business agent." Three definite union needs presided over his birth in the early 1880's and his evolution has coincided, step by step, with the development of the industry from a handicraft to a "technologically tenuous" pursuit. In the epoch of bustles and bicycles-built-for-two, every union—as it grew in membership and strength—began to require a full-time official to represent it in its relations with the employer, with other unions, and to guide its internal affairs. Previously this function had been assigned to the traditional "job steward," as old as unionism itself. He examined "union cards," collected dues, kept non-unionists off the premises, saw to it that apprenticeship and other working rules were minded. And so long as the association between worker and employer remained in essentials that of the master journeyman and craftsmen, the "job-steward" sufficed.

But when, around the late nineteenth century, progress in science and invention changed construction methods from handwork to mechanized processes, and added to the "primary" brick and wood of the mason and carpenter a score of new materials and a score of new crafts, the situation became too complex for the "job steward" to handle and also to perform his own task.

He was, after all, an employee. If he paid more attention to union routine than to his own work, the employer would seek to get even by "riding" him, by giving him more arduous assignments since, as a union-member, he was immune from discharge for "union activity."

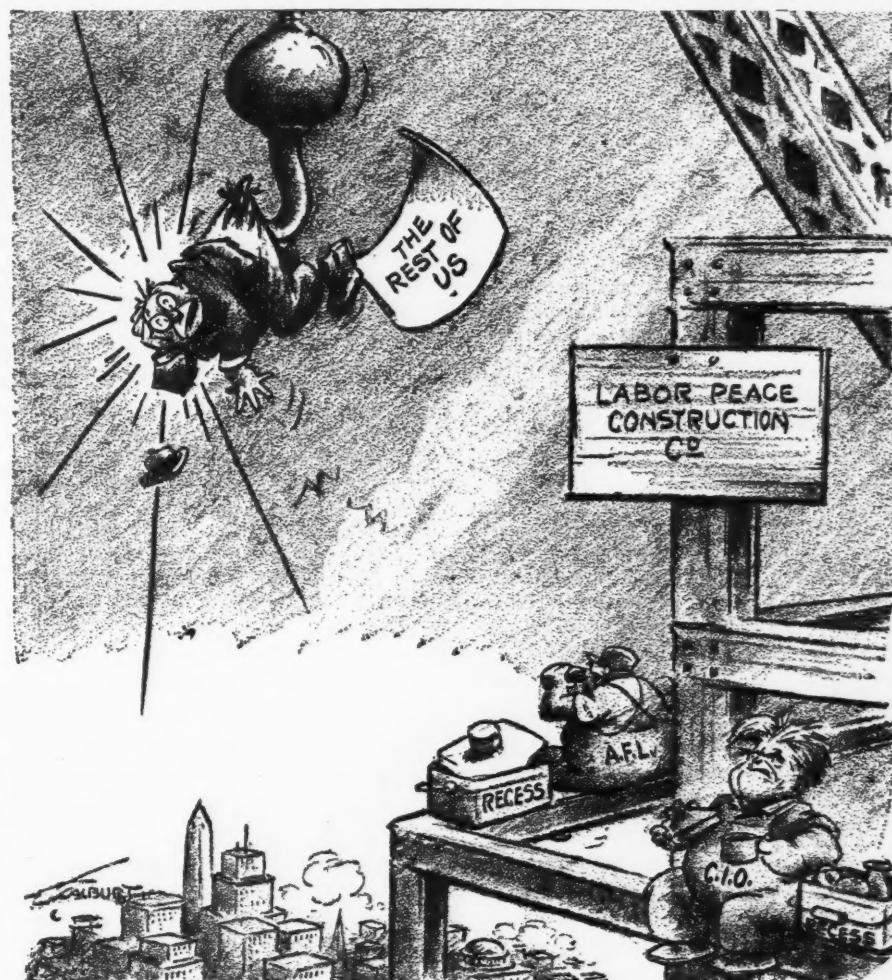
With the growth of sub-contracting, moreover, infractions of union regulations were more frequent and the unions had to have someone who could be always on the lookout to safeguard their interests. Hence the "business agent" in taking over the duties of the job steward, and amplifying them, rapidly rose to dominance in the union's affairs. Since he was hired by the union he could talk back to the

boss with impunity. Since he could devote his whole day to union problems, he gradually fused into his own hands a manifold array of functions. He visited the job to reconcile any disagreements that might have occurred, to thwart violation of various and sundry union "rights, claims and priorities."

Today he also often serves as employment agent, treasurer, overseer,

unions and can lay plans for "sympathetic" walkouts.

But the business agent's ace-in-the-hole is his power to call strikes. The speed with which building construction is conducted makes the reference of disagreements to a union meeting or an "arbitration board" virtually impossible. Disputes have to be settled on the spot, and at once. The business agent, as union leader, is therefore



THIS SUSPENSE IS AWFUL

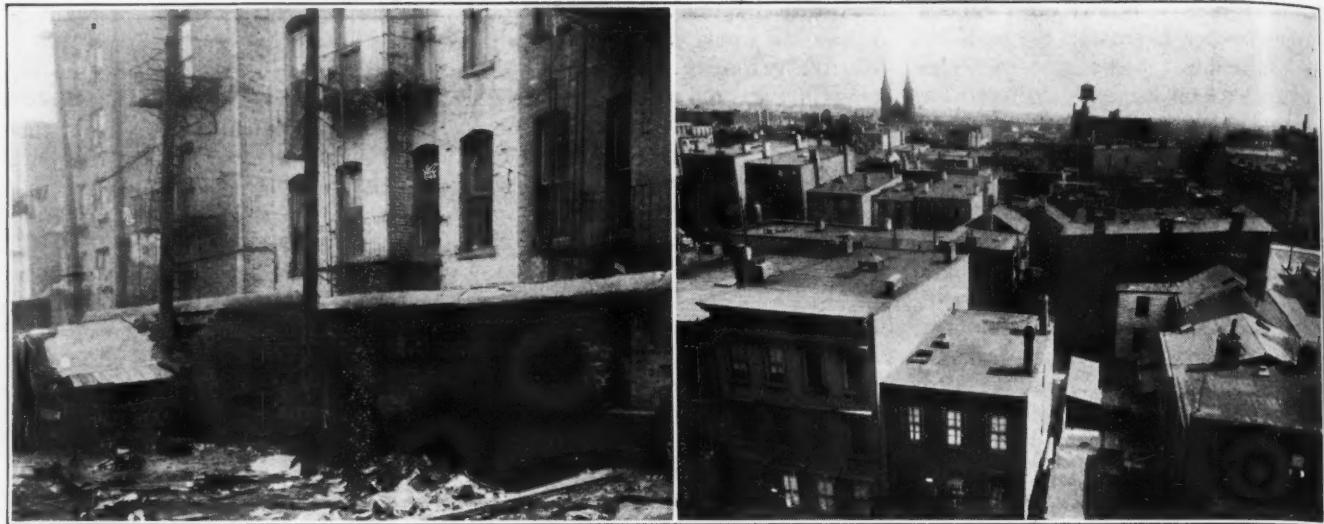
and organizer with all the prerogatives of the grand panjandrum in the Caliph's court. His many offices bring him tremendous influence, and often an even more tremendous revenue. He "gets around a lot." He knows where the "best," i.e. the longer-lasting, jobs are to be found and how they are to be dispensed.

The employer, of course, realizes that the "good will" of the business agent is not only valuable but vital. For the latter appears for the union in arranging wage-scales and working rules and can penalize the contractor for ignoring either or both. The business agent is also his union's spokesman in central labor councils, where he meets his prototypes from other

judge, jury, clerk, and court-crier. He decides. And since he usually has "understandings" with the business agents of other unions, he can not only call for a strike for his own members but also often obtain "a sympathetic strike" involving all other workers on the job, enabling him to paralyze the most gigantic project within fifteen or twenty minutes.

Extortion by "Business Agents"

The temptations to exploit all this influence for personal gain are always present, and largely irresistible. The contractor, of every degree and kind, is willing to pay for freedom from strikes, and to pay through the nose. In New York City, for example, from 1919



A number of New York City's slum sections, such as these, have been torn down and . . .

1922, the notorious "labor czar" Robert Brindle was a sort of "super-business agent" who took all of the city's building trades for his province. He had on his payroll a gang of expert manipulators of Thompson sub-machine guns. They "persuaded" unionists to strike when Brindle thought they should strike, whether they wanted to or not. Although almost everyone in the business knew his *modus operandi*, his intimate Tammany Hall connections permitted him to exact anywhere from \$1000 to \$25,000 as a levy for his unique brand of "strike insurance."

As a whole building trade unionists are indifferent or resigned to this apotheosis of shakedown. The business agent controls the political set-up within the union and to dislodge him would entail years of stubborn uphill struggle by rank-and filers who would have no guarantee whatsoever that his successor would display a more honorable deportment. The majority regard the business agent's extortions as a "sideline" and since this money comes from the boss they are not unduly grieved. What they expect the business agent to do, however, is to "deliver the goods." If he has enforced rules, obtained wage-increases, promoted greater "job-security" they are fairly content. The graft, they think, is nothing out of their own pockets.

The contractor, of course, is the man who forks over. Even the heads of famous concerns condone this practice or oppose it only in half-hearted style. Often unless the contractor "comes through" as requested, the support of the business agent is transferred to a competitor who has fewer scruples. And this "support" is significant. If for example a contractor named Phineas Peabody, let us say,

refuses to be "swindled by a low-down racketeer" the word goes round that Peabody is a Simon Legree and a chiseler who would cheat the honest son of toil out of his last dime and is always having "labor trouble" and it would be best for all concerned if someone else were awarded the contract for, say, carpentry, or tiling, or plumbing, or electric wiring or whatever.

Frequently, too, the contractor succumbs to this policy of paying graft, since in the long run it may be cheaper to pay it than to live up to union rules. The business agent who receives an extra \$100 or \$200 or more per week as a token of the contractor's undying esteem and affection often acquires a convenient myopia when non-union materials are used and non-union men are hired. In addition, the business agent is often presented with a "bonus" to prevent rival contractors from "muscling in" on territory preempted by the business agent's considerate friends.

The "cost-plus" methods prevailing in building construction make it easy for the contractor to pass on the overhead of tribute to the building owners or investors who, as a rule, prefer to blink at such customs rather than to have the completion of the project, in which they are financially involved, indefinitely postponed. And though many contractors deem it "good business" to buy insurance against labor difficulty from the business agent, the question remains "good business" for whom?

The Jitters of Jurisdiction

Among the 2,165,000 workers engaged in building erection, with their 18 national unions and their 52 crafts, some 696,000 are carpenters, and

about 300,000 of them are organized into the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.*

At the moment the Brotherhood is the biggest affiliate of the A. F. of L. and has practiced, since its inception, the laissez-faire preaching of "What we can get, that's ours. Otherwise, leave us alone." It has been embroiled in more jurisdictional† rows than any other ten unions combined. It has sought to command allegiance from every construction field group of workers that a flexible imagination could conjure up. For nearly 60 years of unbroken strife, it has battled to win control over timber and saw-mill workers, coopers, machinists, longshoremen, metal "lathers," and many more besides. Its credo of survival, fashioned in 1891, still remains "Once wood, it is always the right of the carpenter to install it no matter what the material now used may happen to be." And this "principle of substitution" by which it lays claim to any new process that has replaced an older one, is less an illustration of subjective logic than a perpetual *cri de guerre*.

For all practical purposes, the Brotherhood ignores the implications of the doctrine voiced in 1935 by Dr. George Otis Smith, Director of the United States Geological Survey, that:

. . . the entire framework of our civilization is being changed from wood to minerals as the end of our forest reserves comes into view and as modern machinery makes it possible to build more durably of sand and

*In 1937, the 31st annual report of the A. F. of L.'s Building and Construction Trades department listed but 150,000 carpenters in "good standing," a term which means merely that they have paid their dues, refrained from becoming public nuisances, and proclaimed their distaste for the C. I. O. and all its ways.

†In union circles, of course, the word "exclusive" is added to the dictionary's definition of jurisdiction as the "lawful right to exercise official authority, whether executive, legislative or judicial."



... replaced with modern dwellings, such as these, in the Government building program.

organized
of Car-
end . . .
stone and clay of which there is no
end . . .

Nor has the Brotherhood been per-
turbed by the same authority's recipe
for an office building:

Take by weight 60 parts of gravel,
sand and crushed stone; 58 parts of
tile and brick; 27 parts of building
stone; 19 parts of cement and 16
parts of steel, with such other ingredi-
ents as copper and glass and asbestos,
and paint to suit one's taste.

Rather, by means of a leadership
that has tenaciously clung to the gospel
of "once wood, it belongs to us," the
Brotherhood has been consistently
effective within the limits of its some-
what narrow objectives. It has been
extremely cautious and conservative.
Only once was it allured by the siren
of economic reform; and it has heark-
ened to no gongs of political revolt. It
is the arch-type of "pure and simple"
business unionism, its ambitions con-
fined to the plain formula of "more
pay for less work."

From Artisan to Assembler

Less than fifty years ago, almost
everything needed for building a home
was made by the carpenter, right on
the site. He fashioned the newel
post, as well as window frames and
doors. Using axe and adze he cut
pillars and beams. At present, how-
ever, an ever-larger portion of this
work is done by machinery in the mill.
It is then shipped "pre-fabricated"
ready to be put into place. And this
trend has transformed the carpenter
from the skilled and versatile artisan
of a generation ago into a modern
"assembler" in a dozen different opera-
tions. His old-time insignia of hand-
saw and handplane are being sup-
planted by their power-driven descend-
ants that bevel and true edges, rip
beams, mold and mortise with non-

human speed and precision—in much
the same way, indeed, that the auto-
matic hoist is replacing the hod, and
the pneumatic drill the pick.

At first, to combat the threat of
such "recent innovations," the Broth-
erhood, ruled by the eloquent McGuire,
a pseudo-socialist, made its first, last,
and only foray into the realm of re-
form. It joined up with the Populist
movement, dominated by farmers who
in their "Granges" and "Alliances"
were complaining of "10 per cent mort-
gages, and 10 cent corn," and invoking
the great American cure-all of "more
and easier money."

"The government of the United
States," thundered McGuire at the
Brotherhood's 1893 convention, "is
great enough to issue an American
paper currency of its own, without inter-
est, direct to the people as a full
legal tender for all debts. . . ." And a
year later, he and the Brotherhood
were helping to prepare the way for
William Jennings Bryan's sonorous
"You shall not press down upon the
brow of labor this crown of thorns, you
shall not crucify mankind upon a
cross of gold." Barn-storming the
country McGuire exhorted the Broth-
erhood locals and other unions, that:

... organized labor everywhere should
insist on a bi-metallic standard of
currency and the maintenance of sil-
ver on a parity with gold. We cannot
permit the debasement of any part of
our legal currency to suit the whims
of the mono-metallists . . . that they
may depreciate values, undermine la-
bor, reduce wages and at the same
time . . . collect . . . every dollar of
bonded indebtedness on mortgages
that they hold against the industrial
classes of the country.

Labor's Bitterest Quarrel

But with Bryan's defeat in 1896,
and the collapse of the epoch's anti-
gold, anti-Wall Street crusade, the

Brotherhood turned its back, once and
for all, upon salvation by the state.
Instead it concentrated upon more im-
mediate goals such as obtaining the
8-hour day. It had, moreover, two dif-
ficult organization obstacles to over-
come. It had to protect the bargaining
strength of its members by excluding
"green hands," by creating for itself a
monopoly position, an exclusive fran-
chise to certain types of construction
activity. It had also to eliminate rival
or "dual" unions seeking hegemony
in the Brotherhood's own territory;
and in pursuing this policy it locked
horns early in its career with the Wood
Workers Union in what was to become
the most costly and bitter jurisdiction
quarrel in American labor history.

In the late eighties wood-working
machinery began to produce standard
parts in quantity, depriving the out-
side carpenter of much work he had
formerly done. It also opened the way
for the scorned "saw and hatchet"
fellow, that is an unskilled "handy-
man." The Brotherhood promptly put
forward the claim that the wood-
workers in a factory belonged to the
carpenters alone. They quickly revised
their constitution to extend their au-
thority, adding to their former cate-
gories of "carpenters, joiners, stair-
builders and cabinet makers" three
new spheres of influence: "mill-wright,
planing-mill hand, or any journeyman
running woodworking machinery."

As a sop to its competitor's pride, the
Brotherhood after a while granted to
the Wood Workers complete control
over all common "mill hands" and
some furniture makers. It soon ap-
peared, however, that this concession
was enabling the Wood Workers to
expand appreciably until in 1898 it
seemed as if it would enroll 50,000 or
more members. The Brotherhood

didn't like it; and the carpenters brazenly revoked their agreement with the Wood Workers, while the latter, angry and bellicose, appealed to the A. F. of L., asking for "full and sole jurisdiction over all factory woodworkers." After endless conferences, the A. F. of L. awarded jurisdiction rights to the Wood Workers Union, pointing out that the Brotherhood had itself conceded such priority in a number of written pacts. The Brotherhood, however, balked like a Missouri mule. It refused to relinquish the dues and allegiance of its more than 30,000 wood-working adherents. It proceeded on the assumption that the A. F. of L. ruling didn't exist. It "raided" the membership of the Wood Workers, made trouble with their employers by refusing to touch products created by its rival, and generally raised havoc. It bribed, cajoled, plotted its way to supremacy in wood-working with such success that in 1907 the Wood-Workers Union had but a remnant of 7000 of a 45,000 membership and "two thirds of these," lamented its last secretary, "are desirous of joining the Brotherhood of Carpenters because they realize the hopelessness of their condition."

In 1908 the A. F. of L., admitting the inevitable, reversed itself entirely, ordered the Wood Workers to amalgamate with the Brotherhood, and in 1912 Gompers himself presided over the ceremony that annealed the contending factions. In rendering this kind of a decision, however, the A. F. of L. established a precedent that has plagued it ever since. It had gone on record that "might makes right," and by letting the carpenters "get away with it" encouraged other unions to emulate the Brotherhood's example. And from that time on, the Brotherhood's behavior has often been indefensible. In countless cases it has simply appropriated the jurisdiction rights of other unions. It has agreed to arbitrate differences, to accept as final the findings and recommendations of various A. F. of L. boards as to jurisdictional claims and counter-claims. Yet on every occasion when the award of such agencies went against it, the Brotherhood threatened to resign from the A. F. of L. and ignored what, in union circles, is tantamount to a court order. In short, it has desperately held to the policy "heads we win, tails you lose."

In his struggle for existence, in his efforts to offset and outwit the results of technological change, the carpenter,

through the Brotherhood, has acted on the belief that, as a skilled craftsman, he retains a special right to his job for which he has served a four-year apprenticeship, and in which he has acquired a special facility of hand and eye. He looks upon his functional ability as a vested interest, an unchanging property right, and he wants to prevent others from trespassing upon his own domain.

Of course, the desire to win control over a certain economic area is hardly

character of the industry is hardly its own fault, and that the carpenter has to live and support his family the year round on what he can earn in the short and busy season. Hence anything that will give the carpenter more employment or stretch out the employment he has, is warranted by the harsh laws of economic necessity.

The Boss of a Bulwark

Today, the Brotherhood remains a bulwark of moss-backism within the A. F. of L. It is bossed in czar-like fashion by Big Bill Hutcheson, its president since 1916. The Brotherhood's Constitution and his own hard-boiled, blustering personality have combined to centralize virtually all power in union affairs into his ham-like hands. He presides over all conventions, calling them whenever he feels like, letting a period of 12 years (1924-1936) elapse between convoking one national meeting of his union and another. He appoints all committees. He issues or revokes all charters with the consent of the executive board which he utterly dominates. He selects all the Brotherhood's \$75.00 to \$100.00 a week organizers. He pays himself \$200.00 a week, plus some fairly substantial "expenses." He has conducted unceasing jurisdictional warfare upon painters, cement finishers, plasterers, asbestos workers, and others, winning more often than he lost. He is an uncompromising "craft" unionist, hewing to his own line, year in and year out.

At the 1924 convention of the Brotherhood, he declared that: "Every member of our organization should remember that [it] is a trade union . . . and that if at any time any member advocates anything that pertains to Industrialism, or Communism, or any other ism that has for its purpose . . . the putting into effect of what might be termed industrial organization, there is no place . . . for that kind of man . . . there are only two isms that should enter into our organization—that is, unionism and Americanism. . . ."

He is one of the two or three most implacable foes of the C.I.O., and he promises that if ever the "A. F. of L. should accept the plan of the Committee for Industrial Organization, namely to organize all workers on an industrial basis, the only solution for our Brotherhood would be to sever our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor." In other words, the Brotherhood is still the Brotherhood, come hell or highwater.



"Couldn't We Do Something a Little More Constructive?"

confined to the carpenter, or any other unionist. Every business man seeks to enlarge the sphere of his activity; and in the building industry itself, the architect and engineer often engage in jurisdictional feuds of their own about tasks that overlap. The contractor often ignores them both, drawing his own sketches, making his own calculations of stresses and strains, and dispensing with the services of a subcontracting specialist, say, in tiles. But since there is not alert effective organization to enforce such "working rules" quarrels among professional men and employers rarely hit the headlines.

The Brotherhood, however, keeps an Argus-eye on all such matters. It prohibits, for example, the use of a journeyman's tools by "helpers" to strip forms from concrete, although they can do it quite as capably as the full-fledged \$1.25 or \$1.50 per hour carpenter. The Brotherhood justifies its work restrictions and its high hourly wage on much the same grounds. It points out that even in a boom year like 1927, when more than six billions were spent in building construction, its members averaged but 174 work days annually. It argues that the seasonal

SPANISH WAR PROFILES

*Anecdotes of laughter
collected under fire*

By NINA BELMONTE

The following article is not objective. Its author is affiliated with the Rebel faction in the Spanish Civil War. Miss Belmonte's bias is not to be taken as that of the magazine. The article is published in Current History because the editors believe it to reflect an aspect of the war which has heretofore received scant attention: the ties that still bind both sides together. The term "nationalist" is used by Miss Belmonte to denote the Rebel or Insurgent forces.

LIKE all things in life, the war in Spain is a mixture of everything. As a war correspondent I have had a chance to taste them all, to look even further than the present and realize what the future will be like among today's enemies. And my definite impression is that when finally the fight has ended, there will be neither victors nor vanquished, but brothers, all united and eager to help create a great and powerful country.

Things had been very quiet on the Aragon front late last spring. Opposite us, hardly five hundred yards away, was the enemy trench; in between, a vineyard. Grapes were ripe, asking to be picked and eaten. The strong heat made the sight of those fresh grapes a permanent torture for fighters on both sides. Finally one of the loyalist militiamen could stand it no longer. We heard him calling:

"What about a truce while we pick them up?"

A few moments of silence. Then:

"Why not?" replied a nationalist soldier.

Out of their trenches came the opposing armies, unarmed this time. Together they gathered the grapes, chatted amiably with each other, and exchanged jokes.

"Know what we call General Miaja?" a loyalist militiaman asked. "We call him 'General Zebra,' because in the summer when he goes to the front he wears black and white striped pajamas!"

Everyone roared with laughter, and I realized then that not even war had



SPANISH FASCIST: Still wet behind the ears, although old enough to drill with a dummy rifle, this youngster is a follower of General Franco.

been able to kill the Spanish sense of humor.

The work finally accomplished, the grapes were equally divided. Then each group took its share to its own trench. The shooting was resumed shortly afterwards.

Incidents of war, however, are not always pleasant. I was once at a position in the Jarama front. It was late at night. One of the soldiers on watch duty at that nationalist trench heard a noise nearby as if someone were crawling on the ground. He stood at attention and called, "Who is there?"

No reply. The noise stopped at once. Again he repeated his call. Then he shot into the darkness, aiming at the spot from which the sound seemed to come. All other sentinels on duty along the line fired too. Still no response.

Dawn, finally. The spectacle we faced was heart-breaking. There, only a short distance away, the corpses of two children, two little boys. They could hardly have been more than ten or eleven. Their hands were still clutched to the pliers with which they had tried to cut the insurgent wires. The soldier who had shot at the unknown enemy in the darkness crawled out of the trench and brought back the two poor little bodies. Nothing was found in their pockets that could identify them. With watery eyes, he buried the corpses of those two innocent victims of war. Who were they? No one will ever know!

Scenes of all types are found at the different fronts. I was once in the southern part of Spain, at what was then the Malaga front. It was late in the afternoon, and soldiers were off duty, relaxed after days of continuous fighting. Across no-man's-land came a voice—that of a loyalist militiaman:

"Hey budgie! I left my wife behind at Marbella. If I tell you where to find her, would you look her up and let me know if she's all right?"

The soldiers looked at their officer. He smiled sympathetically, then he called out to the loyalist:

"Don't you think you better find out for yourself? You can return there, afterwards."

The militiamen didn't hesitate. Out of his trench he came, unarmed. Soon he had reached our own lines and, accompanied by two insurgent soldiers, was on his way to his wife.

The party returned several hours later with the loyalist in the best of spirits. His wife was well and he had told her not to worry. He saluted, climbed out of the trench, and disappeared in the darkness of no-man's-land, but we could hear him singing all the way across to the other side.

Still one more incident of this type

took place on the Madrid front. It was winter and the night was bitterly cold. I shivered.

"Cold?" asked a Legionnaire.

"Quite," I replied laughingly. "Heating here seems pretty bad."

"A good drink of brandy should do you good," he said. "Let me see if I can find some around here."

Off he went. Shortly afterwards he returned looking very gloomy.



COMRADESHIP: A wounded Moorish soldier en route to the rear after severe hand-to-hand fighting in the suburbs of Madrid.

"No luck," he said. "All I could find was a bottle of anise. That's no good!" Then, his face brightened. He turned towards no-man's-land and called:

"Hey, there! Anyone willing to exchange a bottle of brandy for one of anise?"

He repeated his call two or three times. Then:

"O.K.!" a voice replied. "Want to come over and get it?" The Legionnaire didn't hesitate. "Coming!" he yelled and climbed out of the trench.

At any moment I expected machine-guns to start rattling. But no. The darkness of the night swallowed him without a shot being fired. Five, ten, fifteen minutes. And, then, he was back—bottle of brandy under his arm. He poured out a drink, handed me the glass, and said:

"Here, señorita! It'll do you good. Best thing against cold!"

War, however, is not always as simple as all that. We reached Pozuelo, in the Madrid front, shortly after it was taken by Franco's forces. The village had been in the path of

war and practically nothing was left standing. The civilian population had evacuated. But in front of the ruins of what once had been a house sat a little old woman, about seventy, quietly knitting.

"Hello, *abuela!*" I said. "What are you doing here? You don't live in this place, do you?"

"No, señorita," she replied, "I don't live here now but before this was my

of pain. We stayed right where we were, listening to the music, trying to forget that death was taking its toll right near us—trying to forget that any second we might become a part of that toll. Finally the roar of the aeroplane motors became dimmer and dimmer. The player stopped. Schubert's *Serenade* was ended. "It's over," someone said. A few moments of silence. Then, an officer stood up:

"A toast to the dead," he said. "May they rest in peace!" We all stood up, heads bowed, offering prayer for those gone. Then, the music was resumed, this time, Sibelius' *Valse Triste*.

But war is not wholly without its lighter side. "War Tourists," as we call people visiting the fronts for curiosity's sake, often give those of us who have to be there almost without relief, many a good laugh. We were at the northern front. A middle-aged gentleman, who usually spent his time at bar-counters, decided to get a close-up of war. He asked if we wouldn't take him along in one of our expeditions. We agreed, and he joined our party the next morning in full country attire. He laughed and talked louder than anyone else. We were amazed at his courageous talking. And, finally we reached the spot where we had to leave the car. Just as we were about to stop, a terrific thunder, to our right, nearly left us deaf. Our friend paled.

"What's that?" His voice was shaky. We didn't answer but got out of the car and pointed to a field hardly a hundred and fifty yards away.

"Just that," we told him. His eyes turned toward the spot. He saw a huge hole on the ground—a good sized shell-hole. He gulped and licked his lips.

He looked rather upset, but said nothing. We started moving ahead, in single line, practically crawling along. Suddenly the rattling sound of machine-gun fire.

"Down!" shouted someone. "We've been spotted!" We dropped into the ditch by the roadside. Only our "war tourist" remained standing.

"You fool!" we shouted. "Throw yourself down!" He looked at us, wild terror in his eyes. Bullets began hitting the ground around him. He took a wild leap and started running ahead. We yelled and yelled. No use. The man had decided, it seemed, to outrun the bullets. And, then, what had to happen, happened. He stopped suddenly and fell forward. He lay there motionless. "Well, he's finished," we commented. "Too bad, but it was his own fault!" When finally the firing

stopped, we went out and gathered up the "body" and took it along. It came back to life quickly enough! Not a scratch—just a plain case of fainting due to overwhelming fear! That was his first and last visit to the front!

Of course, the one thing most dreaded by war correspondents is making a mistake while driving and taking a road which may lead into enemy territory. Nothing might happen, and yet, it might mean instant death. The feeling of having committed such a mistake is something never to be forgotten.

With two other young ladies, I was driving back to Salamanca from Madrid's front. It was late at night and the head-lights pierced the deep darkness ahead. We went through deserted villages—the mark of war on all of them. Suddenly a group of soldiers standing in the middle of the road directed us to stop. We recognized them as nationalists. They looked over our passes and warned us to be careful lest we drive into enemy territory.

We continued on our way. Our next stop was Avila—it shouldn't take us much more than two hours to get there. We chatted as we drove.

"Hey!" one of my companions said with a start. "Do you realize we've been driving for nearly three hours and we aren't there?" Her question was somewhat of a shock for the three of us. We stopped, got out of the car and looked around. The surroundings were definitely unfamiliar. We had made that trip many a time, and we certainly couldn't recognize the place.

None of us dared utter the thought in our minds. Finally:

"I think we've crossed the lines," one of my companions said in a quiet voice.

But, when, where? We had taken a number of turns, but we had thought them to be right turns. How in God's name were we to know where the mistake had been made? We deliberated for a few moments, then, the decision taken, we got back into the car and drove on ahead. There was nothing else to do. We simply had to go on until we found someone to tell us where we were. Why deny that our nerves were quite on edge? After all, we were heading for the unknown. And all because of a stupid mistake! We stopped at the first farmhouse and told a man who answered our summons that we were lost.

"Welcome, comrades!" he said and raised his clenched fist in the loyalist salute.

Well, we had done it! Gone right into enemy territory. We smiled back at him.

"We are not comrades," we explained. "We are nationalists."

He looked at us in utter amazement. "Then what are you doing here?"

We told our story. What was the use of lying? The man turned his back to us and called up the stairs: "Maria! Maria! Come down!"

We all waited in silence. Finally, a middle-aged woman came down. She didn't give us the loyalist salute, but simply looked inquiringly at the man.

"These young ladies," he explained, "are nationalists. They have lost their way and want to get back on the road

to Avila. I shall show them, but I think first we ought to give them something. They must be tired and hungry and cold after so many hours on the road!"

Nerves relaxed. We were friends! We sat with those people for nearly an hour. They gave us food and wine; they lighted the hearth. Finally, they gave us the right instructions to get back on the right road. They talked about themselves. War had caught them here, in their house. They had stayed to take care of it. Their only son had gone to war.

We parted at the door deeply moved. We simply shook hands, and in answer to our *Arriba Espana!* (Up Spain!) he replied with an ardent: *Arriba!*

It is this type of incident that makes one realize that the Spanish people will be happily united under the colors and traditions which for centuries have given their country glory and power once the war is over. Even those who are innocent victims of a war in which they never took active part harbor neither hate nor revenge. There was a small house I shall never forget. In it, a mattress, soaked in blood. And, on the mattress the corpse of a young-looking woman. A girl, about nine or ten, stood by. She kept her eyes fixed on the poor mangled body.

"Yes, my mother. She has gone to Heaven . . . with the angels!"

"How do you know?"

"Because she told me before leaving."

This is typical of the Spanish mother. In dying, she had given her child words of consolation that wouldn't awaken hate, but forgiveness.



HANG-DOG: Bound by the wrist and under the surveillance of a grim-faced officer, this youthful Loyalist detachment was caught in the Rebel advance on Bilbao.

CURRENT HISTORY IN THE WORLD OF THE ARTS

V. F. CALVERTON

Cultural Barometer

IT IS a curious irony that the United States should have in Hollywood the highest developed motion picture equipment in the world, most of the best actors and actresses in the world, and many of the best dramatists in the world, and still be unable to produce more than a handful of first rate, significant films.

The best films since the War—the films before that are scarcely more than historically and reminiscently interesting—have been produced by the Russians and the Germans. Back in the twenties the Russians in such films as *Potemkin*, *The Fall of St. Petersburg*, and *Ten Days That Shook the World*, and the Germans in the *Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, *Variety*, and *The Last Laugh* produced films which were challengingly experimental and unforgettablely impressive. In fact they made the cinema into an art—the eighth art.

What makes the cinema so significant, so much more significant than any other art, is the fact that it is a mass art, and as a mass art it exercises a social influence far more widespread and far more intense than all the other arts put together. In that connection, the words of the famous art critic, Dr. Erwin Panofsky, which Gilbert Seldes quotes in his most interesting and illuminating book, *The Movies Come From America*, are pertinent:

If all the lyrical poets, painters and sculptors now living were forced by law to stop writing poetry or producing art, a very small fraction of the general public would become aware of this fact, and a still smaller fraction would seriously regret it. But if the same thing would happen with the movies, there would be the most gruesome of revolutions within a week.

In the old days, especially in post-medieval times, the theatre, then largely a religious institution, was a mass art. Even when it began to elude ecclesiastical controls, as in France, for instance, at the end of the Middle Ages, at which time it became with its new trickeries and techniques a precursor of the modern farce, it did not lose its mass base. It was the masses that attended it, the masses that supported it, however indirectly, and the

masses that inspired it. It was only after the aristocracies became interested in the theatre as a device and a diversion of their own that it became a class instead of a mass phenomenon.

Slowly, generation after generation, century after century, the theatre became more and more isolated from the people. When the aristocracies became too bankrupt to sponsor and support it, it was adopted by the middle class which made it over in its own image. Very soon, dramatists writing to interest and please that middle class decided, in the words of Richard Steele, one of the leading playwrights in the early part of the eighteenth century, "To refine the age, to chasten wit, and moralise the stage." But this was all done for a wealthy class, not for the mass.

It was the cinema which brought the theatre, or rather its new equivalent, back to the people. At last, after centuries of isolation from an art which had once been their superlative diversion, the masses found themselves confronted with a species of entertainment that they could both appreciate and afford.

A Mass Art

In large part the history of the cinema has been the history of trying to please those masses, because without the support of their nickels, dimes, quarters, and half-dollars, the moving picture industry could never have become the miracle of production and profit that it has with all the fabulosity of a make-believe world to lend it glamor. Hollywood producers have one unfailing way of telling whether they have pleased the masses or not—box-office receipts. They know that all the ballyhoo in the world cannot make an unpopular picture popular any more than esthetically it can make a bad picture good. They know the nature of the pictures which have been popular in the past and almost always prefer duplicating those types rather than risking new types the response to which would be, in their opinion, too perilously problematic. They know the situations, scenes, plots, characters

which appeal and consequently repeat them with relatively few variations from year to year. Even when they cinematize novels which vary from pattern, they adapt them in such ways as to minimize the variations and maximize the resemblances. The result is stifling to the cinema as an art.

Every art is dependent to a degree upon the market but no other art except the cinema involves such a fantastic investment in overhead which in itself renders experiment in any challenging sense prohibitive from the start. If that overhead were cut down by decreasing salaries, the costs of sets, and the like, it would become possible for the industry to undertake more daring and original themes and characterizations and become as adventurous as the stage in its projects. It would make it possible for stars to become actors and actresses instead of stereotypes which are what most of them are today, despite the fact that many of them have genuine talent and some of them indubitable genius.

Notwithstanding all these facts, Hollywood somehow has managed to produce better pictures within the last few years than ever before, and, what is even more interesting, pictures which are not only "good" but which also "pay." Revealingly enough, most of the best pictures Hollywood has put on have been adaptations from books: *Arrowsmith*, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, *The American Tragedy*, *Anna Karenina*, *David Copperfield*, etc., etc. Most of the great European films, on the other hand, have not been adaptations from books but cinematized conceptions pure and direct. The best film-directors, Eisenstein and Pudovkin, for example, have never envisioned the cinema as a story-telling medium but rather as a new form of art in which pictorialization is primary and all other elements, including the narrational, are secondary or tertiary. As in *Potemkin* Eisenstein sought to get new effects by means of a new technique and succeeded so well that the entire history of the cinema was changed thereby.

The field in which the American

movie has begun to excel of late is that of light comedy. In the silent picture days, it was Chaplin who elevated the American farce into comedy, and who ever since, especially in *Modern Times*, gave comedy social and satiric content. In a mixture of other films of even later date the comic note has been sustained, with the result that the pie-flinging farces of yesterday have lost most of their popularity. It is in such films as *Mr. Deeds Goes To Town*, *It Happened One Night*, *Labeled Lady*, *Theodora Goes Wild*, *Ruggles of Red Gap*, and in such mystery-comedies as *The Thin Man* and *Star of Midnight*, that this improvement is most delightfully conspicuous. Yet even here, now that success has been attained with this genre, the Hollywood tendency is toward endless duplication of it until it reaches a point of saturation. The result is we are now being served up "phony" imitations like *Double Wedding* and *True Confession*, which are so impossibly unoriginal and unconvincing the best thing that can be said about them is that one forgets them immediately after seeing them.

Among the more serious cinemas which signify advance in the American film are *The Life of Emile Zola*, which was declared the best cinema of the year by the New York Film Critics, and *Night Must Fall*. There can be no question but that the Zola film represents a first rate dramatization of the life of the great French author, notwithstanding the fact that it minimizes the anti-Semitic aspect of the Dreyfus case, which results in distorting the picture as a historical interpretation. *Night Must Fall* is a more important film because it represents greater originality of conception and projection. Robert Montgomery's impersonation of the role of the murderer is one of the finest pieces of acting ever witnessed on the screen. The only actor who has ever come close to approaching Montgomery in psychological depth of interpretation is Charles Laughton, who in *Payment Deferred* acted a not dissimilar role with remarkable distinction.

State Control of the Cinema

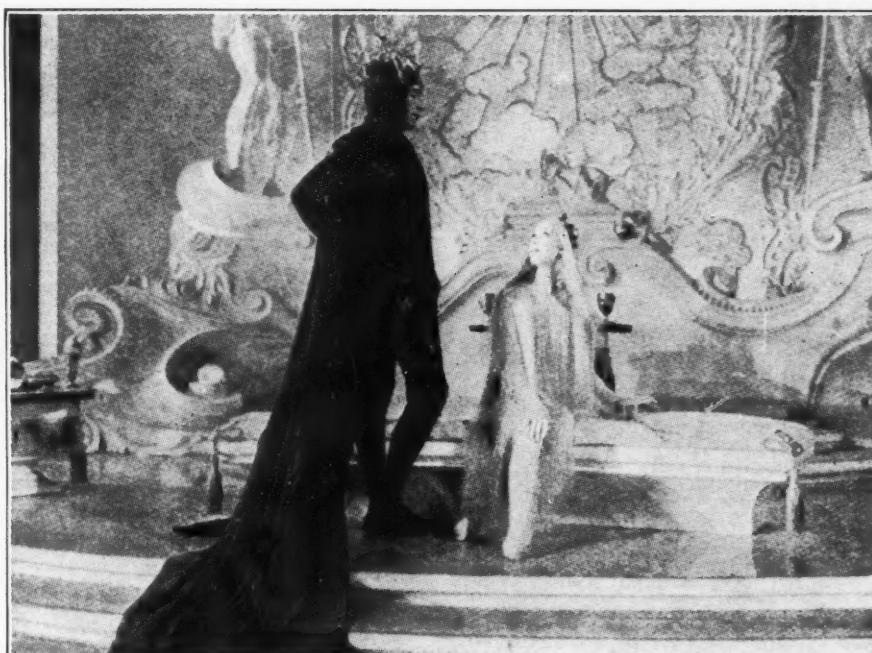
Charlie Chaplin has recently declared that one of the main factors which has hampered the progress of the American film has been that of censorship. "In this kaleidoscopic turmoil of fast and furious events, when cause and effect with increasing pace are bringing to light a more realistic

view on human affairs, the film play must ignore the vital issues," Mr. Chaplin states, "and deal only in such subject matter as a child would read in a rhyming book." While there is a great deal of truth to what Mr. Chaplin says, it must be admitted that unfortunate as that censorship has been and still is it is easier to endure than the state censorships which have been established over the cinema in fascist and communist countries.

In Soviet Russia, for example, his-

Ice. The scenario was written by Eisenstein in collaboration with P. Pavlenko. Production will begin shortly and it is hoped that it will be completed this year. Whether Eisenstein will ever be able to produce it or not will depend upon political and not esthetic reasons, for in Soviet Russia today films are not judged by their artistic merits but by their value as state propaganda.

A forthright illustration of how such censorship works in Soviet Russia can



The Movies Come from America, by Gilbert Seldes

1936 MODEL: A Scene from Max Reinhardt's production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1936.

tory is so distorted in films that it is almost unrecognizable, and all in order that the film will not be suppressed by the censor. Eisenstein, not only the greatest of Soviet directors but the greatest director in the world today, has found it impossible to creatively function in Soviet Russia in late years. The tyranny of censorship resulted in the destruction of his most recent film after two million rubles had been spent on it. It was considered too formalistic by the censors. Ever since his *Thunder over Mexico*, which he was never able to edit because he was recalled to Soviet Russia for political reasons, Eisenstein has failed to produce a single work of significance. In all probability, in the light of the conditions which have existed in the Soviet Union for some years now, the fault is not Eisenstein's but the environment. Just recently, the chief administrator of the Soviet motion picture industry has decided to allow Eisenstein, in collaboration with D. I. Vasilieff, to produce a new film entitled *Slaughter on the*

*be seen in the film *Lenin in October*, produced by M. Romm and D. Vasilieff. What makes the film excellent from the point of view of the Stalin dictatorship but unconvincing and unimpressive from the point of view of the rest of the world (and, incidentally, there is good reason to believe that Eisenstein found it impossible to stoop so low in his work as to perpetrate such historical crimes) is that it distorts history in favor of Stalin. The film strives to show that it was not Lenin's own ingenuities which saved him from arrest and murder but "the ever-watchful precautions taken by Stalin with the purpose of saving him [Lenin] from his own heedless courage." When Lenin arrives at the Finland station the first person he asks for is Stalin, as if Stalin were the one man he had to see and ask for counsel before he made a decision as to what to do about the revolution. Both situations are historically unsound and absurd. Lenin is also shown attacking Zinoviev and Kamenev, flourishing aloft the paper,*

Novaya Zhizn, in which they were then attacking Lenin's policies. No mention, however, is made of the fact that the editor of that paper was Maxim Gorki, who later became accepted by the Bolshevik regime, and today is buried in the Kremlin wall.

Mark Twain as a Menace

Turning away from the cinema to other cultural matters, we have in the case of the recent Brazilian dictatorship an amusing and pathetic illustration of censorship reduced to its nadir. In the Red scare which has swept over Brazil like a whirlwind, Mark Twain's novel *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* has been one of many victims. The novel has been indicted as a bearer of "red poison." Erich Maria Remarque's book *The Road Back* suffered a similar fate. It is curious how many nations and how many libraries in different nations have found Mark Twain's works dangerous or offensive. And yet Mark Twain himself was so concerned about avoiding such a reaction on the part of his readers that he just couldn't get himself for a long time to let his hero Huck Finn use the word "hell." Nevertheless, the book *Huckleberry Finn* was forbidden in the public library at Concord, Mass., when it was first published, and sixteen years later it was ejected from the Denver library, and barely escaped a similar fate in the Brooklyn Public Library as late as 1905.

At the same time, ironically enough, Twain's works were popular under the Tzars and are just as popular now under the Soviets, which have filmed *Tom Sawyer* as first rate anti-slavery propaganda.

Advent of the Negro Ballet

In all his art expression the Negro has retained a certain primitivism which is remarkably refreshing in contrast to the stilted affectations of the more cultured styles and conceptions of art. Because he is more instinctive and less cerebral, the Negro has been able to introduce into his songs and into his dances a wonder and a magic which no other people have managed to do with such astounding success. In jazz, for instance, the vital and overwhelming exuberance of the American Negro reaches its apex in physical dynamics. The riotous rhythms that constitute jazz are to the Negro but the active translation of the impulsive extravagance of his life. Stokowski's statement that "Negro musicians . . . are causing new blood to flow into the

veins of music" condenses in a phrase what the Negro has done to American music in the last twenty years. Jazz reflects something of the essential irresponsibility, or rather the irresponsible enthusiasms and ecstasies, that underlie Negro life here in America and which give to Negro art such singular distinction in verve and spontaneity.

Now the Negro has gone a step farther in the dance in the organization of



The Movies Come from America, by Gilbert Seldes

PRE-WAR MODEL: A typical Serial Shot from *Fantomas*, one of the first screen melodramas.

the first Negro Ballet. The inaugural appearance of this Ballet was two weeks ago at the Lafayette Theatre in Harlem, and the fact that it played to a packed house of Negroes and whites is evidence of the interest in the phenomenon. Under the direction of Eugene von Grona, this all-Negro group of twenty-three young artists, gave a performance which challenged by its very audacity and originality. The Group is still inexperienced and, consequently, lacked the finesse and perfection of line and movement of the older ballets, but it compensated for that inadequacy by its extraordinary vitality and freshness and the amazing novelty of its approach and interpretation.

The program included a ballet adapted to Stravinsky's *Firebird Suite*, Duke Ellington's *Southern Episode*, Reginald Forsythe's *Children of the Earth*, a choreographic interpretation of Bach's *Air for the G String*, and an interpretation of W. C. Handy's *St. Louis Woman*. There can be no question but that the best work of the Group was done with its native ma-

terial where it was unexcelled. With the more classical materials, it was less-at-home and less effective, even gauche at times. Without doubt, however, the Negro ballet has a significant future before it.

Newer Harlem Ventures

One of the most interesting Negro poets of today is M. B. Tolson, who in his *Harlem Gallery* is trying to do for the Negro what Edgar Lee Masters did for the middle west white folk over two decades ago. Mr. Tolson is a bright, vivid writer who attains his best effects by understatement rather than overstatement, and who catches in a line or a stanza what most of his contemporaries have failed to capture in pages and volumes. The Negroes he describes in his poems come to life, candidly, challengingly, unforgettable. Here is one of his poems which is typical of his volume:

DR. HARVEY WHYTE

Black Boy, why you cryin'
In de lonesome night?
De Lawd when He's paintin'
Didn't paint me white.
Dat's de reason Black Boy's
Cryin' in de night!

It's a long, hard road
From the Flint Plantation
At Waycross, Georgia,
To the position of Chief Surgeon
In a Harlem hospital.

It's a long, hard road
For a beggarly black boy.

And that pitiless road
Had sapped the humor
From the heart
Of Dr. Harvey Whyte
And drained the sentiment
From his soul.

At the present time, Mr. Tolson is also working on a novel *Dark Symphony* which will do for Harlem in prose what his present volume does in verse.

In connection with other Harlem matters, it is interesting to note that the Harlem Community Art Center was opened several weeks ago, an enterprise which has been praised for what it will do to cultivate art-interests and enthusiasms among the Negroes. A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the Harlem Citizens Sponsoring Committee, lauded it as a most significant development and gave abundant credit to the WPA Federal Art Project for all that it had done to achieve its existence.

DAVID DIETZ

Realm of Science

A NEW constituent of the earth's atmosphere has been discovered by two astronomers at the famous Lowell Observatory in Flagstaff, Arizona. It is nitrogen pentoxide. The discovery was made by Dr. Arthur Adell and Dr. C. O. Lampland, already internationally known for their researches upon the atmospheres of the planets.

Nitrogen pentoxide is a chemical compound of the two most important constituents of the atmosphere, nitrogen and oxygen. Each molecule of nitrogen pentoxide contains two atoms of nitrogen and five of oxygen.

Apparently the nitrogen pentoxide is located in the portion of the atmosphere between 10 miles above the earth's surface and 25 miles above the earth's surface. This band is sometimes called the ozonosphere because it is the layer in which ozone occurs.

Ozone, an electrified form of oxygen whose molecule contains three atoms instead of two, is formed by the action of the ultra-violet portion of the sun's rays upon the earth's atmosphere. It is believed that nitrogen pentoxide is also formed by the action of the sun's ultra-violet light but that the reaction is only possible if ozone is already present.

The previous known components of the atmosphere were nitrogen, oxygen, argon, water vapor, carbon dioxide, hydrogen, neon, krypton, helium, ozone, and xenon.

These represent the constituents of what scientists consider "pure air." To them should be added various impurities, more prevalent over cities than elsewhere. These include dust, bacteria, plant spores, ammonia, various oxides and acids of nitrogen, hydrocarbons, hydrogen sulphide, carbon monoxide, sulphur dioxide, sulphuric acid, chlorine, and hydrochloric acid.

Some astronomers think that measurement of the fluctuations in the amount of nitrogen pentoxide may prove the most sensitive measure of fluctuations in the sun's output of ultra-violet.

An Intellectual League

The discovery of nitrogen pentoxide was announced in Indianapolis at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The two astronomers were among some five thousand scientists who gathered there between Christmas and New Year's Day for the annual inventory of American science.

Showing their interest in what Sir Josiah Stamp had called "the impact of science upon society," the Council of the Association adopted a resolution extending "to its prototype, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and to all other scientific organizations with similar aims throughout the world, an invitation to cooperate not only in advancing the interests of pure science but also in promoting peace among nations and intellectual freedom in order that science may continue to flourish and to spread more abundantly its benefits over all mankind."

Perhaps an intellectual league of nations will succeed in accomplishing what a political one has not been able to do.

The Virus Diseases

Attention has been centered on the virus diseases ever since December 1936 when Dr. W. M. Stanley of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research announced his discovery that the virus which caused the mosaic disease of the tobacco plant was not a living organism but a giant protein molecule which exhibited many of the properties of living organisms.

During 1937, Dr. Stanley and his colleagues extended their work, isolating and identifying other large protein molecules as the causative agents of a number of other plant diseases and one animal disease. These include tobacco ring spot virus, latent mosaic of potato virus, severe etch virus, and Shope papilloma virus.

"Especial interest surrounds the Shope papilloma virus," Dr. Stanley says. "Rous and Beard have found that the papillomas caused by it in domestic rabbits usually progress and become cancers."

One form of papilloma occurring in human beings is the familiar wart. While warts are usually harmless, there are certain types which under certain conditions become cancerous.

The accomplishments in the virus

field during 1937 give hope that 1938 may see the start of the conquest of those virus diseases which attack human beings. Among these are the most potentially dangerous diseases of contagion known to medical science today. They include influenza, infantile paralysis, encephalitis or sleeping sickness, and yellow fever. While medical men have adequate means of battling many bacterial contagions, such as diphtheria for example, they are still without adequate means of battling the virus diseases.

America lost 27,789 men overseas in the World War. The influenza outbreak of 1918 killed 400,000 people in this country. Public health officials have feared another outbreak ever since. Last summer the nation was threatened with a major wave of infantile paralysis. The worst outbreak of sleeping sickness was in the St. Louis region in 1933. Yellow fever rages in parts of South America and Africa and public health officials are particularly fearful that it may be introduced into the United States once more by airplane traffic from tropical America.

How the Brain Sleeps

The possibility that certain forms of insanity may be the result of a part of the brain falling asleep seems a reasonable conclusion from recent studies by Dr. Halowell Davis of Harvard University, one of the nation's chief authorities upon brain waves.

Brain waves, as most readers know, are electrical waves generated in the brain by the activity of the brain cells. They are recorded with the aid of radio amplifiers which amplify them millions of times and make them strong enough to operate the recording mechanism.

Dr. Davis' experiments have shown the existence of an intermediate stage between wakefulness and true sleep. He calls it the "floating stage" because so many of the subjects tested described it as the period in which they were floating off to sleep.

It is during this period, Dr. Davis finds, that the different functions of the brain such as sensory awareness, memory, self-consciousness, continuity of logical thought, latency of response to a stimulus, go to sleep, one by one.

Highlights of the Law

GUERRA EVERETT

SOLE passenger in a small vessel leeward of the Aleutians some twenty years ago, I fell ill one chilly night. The master ordered a Chinese sailor to stay by me all night. Cold, and fearful of contagion, the man slipped away. The wrath of the master shivered the timbers. His voluble rage sent the sea gulls spiraling back along the wake. In one last burst of fury, he thundered, "I fine you one big dollar!" Relief, and something like admiration spread over the seaman's bland face, while I marvelled at this exhibition of the master's Jovian power.

Some observers look with misgiving on recent events which appear to be incursions into old principles of discipline at sea. An issue of extraordinary clarity was drawn in the "conflict between time-honored traditions of the sea, on the one hand, and modern trade union philosophy, on the other," by the conviction of 14 seamen of the *Algic* who refused to work in a foreign port out of sympathy for local striking stevedores. Most students of current history are familiar enough with modern trade-union philosophy, but perhaps many rely on memories of Midshipman Easy or the picture *Mutiny on the Bounty* for a knowledge of the tremendous force of tradition in the government of those who go down to the sea.

Because of the perils of the deep, crews of vessels have been special objects of legal protection since the days when the Law of Rhodes ruled the triremes and a Roman Emperor said "I am indeed lord of all the land, but custom is the law of the sea." The original American statute is almost (March 2, 1799) as old as the Government itself. Today meticulous provision is made by statute, decisions and regulations for the employment, or "shipping" of the crew, discharge of its members, the protection of their rights, and the enforcement of their obligations.

To cope with the nefarious if robust practice of "shanghaiing" sailors, heavy fines are assessed against masters who take on seamen without the knowledge of the shipping commissioner, and against anyone personating the commissioner. The shipping commissioner or his employee who takes any remu-

neration for supplying crews is punished.

The shipping commissioner supervises the engagement of the crew, ascertaining that each seaman has signed the "articles" which define the nature and duration of the voyage and its port of termination, and specify the number and duties of the seamen, the time at which each is to be on board to begin work, the capacity in which each is to serve, his wages, a scale of provisions to be furnished each, regulations as to conduct, "fines, short allowance of provisions, or other lawful punishments for misconduct which may be sanctioned by Congress or authorized by the Secretary of Commerce not contrary to or otherwise provided for by law," and regulations as to advances and allotments of wages and other matters not contrary to law. The Secretary of Commerce must give each Congress "an account of such impressments and detentions as shall appear by the protests of the masters to have taken place."

Payment of wages of sailors is surrounded with many safeguards. Wages are not subject to attachment nor may they be paid in advance of the voyage; and during the voyage no sum exceeding one dollar is recoverable from a seaman by any one person. When home port is made again no one may solicit a seaman to lodge at any place, nor remove any of his effects without his consent and that of the master, for a given period.

Vessels must provide medicines, vinegar and lime or lemon juice, and certain clothing. A "slop chest" or store of clothes, tobacco and blankets for sale at a limited profit, and a warm room in cold weather is required. American consuls have a fund for repatriating destitute and disabled seamen.

To compensate for these and many other privileges, seamen are held to a high degree of obedience and duty. Desertion, drunkenness, neglect of duty, wearing a sheath knife, wilful disobedience, assaulting officers, wilfully damaging the vessel, etc., may bring such punishments as forfeiture of wages, confinement in irons on bread and water (with full rations every fifth day) and long imprisonment. On the

other hand flogging and corporal punishment are now prohibited.

Modernization of many of these ancient rules is a justifiable desideratum, and seamen's organizations may perform a prerequisite service in bringing it about. The problem is to conform the union ideal to the paramount living principle which dictated archaic, brutish laws and which still informs our legislation, namely, safety and discipline before the mast. In the *Algic* case the momentous issue was resolved in favor of discipline, and, as the Chairman of the National Maritime Commission observed, the jury's verdict "clarified the legal relationship of the men who man" merchant ships. Union work to promote the welfare of seamen must and can be carried on within the framework of this decision.

So Gently You Came Tapping

The founding fathers who ordained that "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated" did not foresee the invention of the telephone, and its vulnerability to eavesdropping. Had they been able to envisage the advent of the telephone, the Bill of Rights doubtless would have carried some provision to deal with the party-line listening post and the siren who presides at the office switchboard.

The Supreme Court has fallen athwart the breach, however, upholding an Act of Congress which provides that no one shall intercept an interstate telephone message unless authorized by the sender and no person shall divulge the substance of such messages. Thus ends the practice of seeking evidence or clues by wire-tapping—a practice which violates an axiom of liberty, but to which we indulgently or indolently submitted until it began to step on our toes too much during the Prohibition Era. The instant decision will be cited, perhaps, when television provides the nation with a glass housing program.

In this connection let us recall two great sergeants of the law who fought the good fight for liberty, Frank B. Kellogg and Newton D. Baker, who passed into history during the weeks we are reviewing.

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

The Religious Horizon

ON DECEMBER 6, in the year 345, the Archbishop of Myra (Saint Nicholas) died after being imprisoned by Diocletian and released by Constantine. The prelate had surreptitiously bestowed dowries on the three daughters of an impoverished citizen. Thus began the custom of giving presents on St. Nicholas' Eve — later transferred to Christmas Day in many countries. But December 6 is still the day on which the Saint appears astride his white horse, with his negro servant, Pete, and visits all the little children of the Netherlands.

Apparently someone reached Nazi government chiefs after the Christmas holidays had begun and persuaded them that "present-giving" at Christmas-tide was appropriate. For, on Christmas day the families of 120 Protestant pastors rejoiced at their release from prison. The charges against them will be dropped. Whether the government has decided to abandon imprisonment as a means of dealing with Protestant pastors and the Protestant Church situation remains to be seen. It is rather significant that approximately ten pastors and seminary students (including the Rev. Martin Niemoeller) were not released.

"Magic" threatens to bring about the end of all culture, including religion in Germany, according to an article in the current issue of *The Review of Religion*, written by Karl Beth, Professor of Religious Psychology and Dogmatics at the University of Vienna. Professor Beth finds a "lukewarm" attitude of the Protestant Church as much responsible for this condition as the more apparent religious suppression and the dissemination of paganistic doctrines.

"History teaches," says Prof. Beth, "that every advanced culture runs into ruin when it changes to magic. It will endure only as long as it remains free from magic and is permeated with ethics. Ancient cultures have disappeared on account of being influenced by magic; for the future favors only an ethical culture."

Atheism Organizes

Magic is not the only foe which religion now faces. Atheism, which once had a few scattered adherents is now organized and has national meet-

ings and even an international Congress of Free Thinkers who are to hold a convention in Paris in September of 1938. In Russia the League of the Fighting Godless has for years been waging a "war of extermination on religion" against the Christian Church. The Posener Zeitungsdienst reports that the results of the Russian Godless Campaign are not commensurate with the money expended. Therefore it is proposed to intensify the propaganda during the coming year which is to be known as the "year of decision."

The plan calls for a daily broadcast in promotion of atheism, instead of three or four a month as at present; the appropriation of one million, three hundred thousand rubles for foreign atheistic organization instead of the present eight hundred and forty thousand rubles; *Bezbosnik*, the official periodical of the atheists, is to issue a Chinese and Japanese edition monthly, to combat not only the Christian religion, but also the national religions of the Far East.

In addition to a prize that is offered for the best Godless hymn, there is a keen rivalry to produce a Godless Bible. There is also a demand for the cancellation of Article 124 of the new Soviet Constitution, in which religious freedom is mentioned. Preparations are under way to train fifteen hundred speakers for the purpose of delivering addresses in cities and villages.

Recent indications actually point to a revival of religious interest in Russia in spite of the most persistent efforts on the part of the government. An instance of this trend is the fact that four years ago The League of Fighting Godless numbered 5,000,000 members. At present, there are only 2,000,000 enrolled. Dispatches also note that in Russia today there are more than 30,000 religious organizations of various faiths.

In the United States the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism recently published "Ten Demands." Included among them were: the government must remove "In God We Trust" from our coins; the Bible must be excluded from our public schools; marriage must be secularized; divorce must be given upon request; assemblies must stop running the cross above the flag; Church property must

be taxed; and all chaplains must be dismissed from public service.

According to a report in *Das Evangelische Deutschland*, a congress of atheists is to be held in Mexico City, on January 4, before this is in your hands to read. Initiator and sponsor of the meeting is the Atheist Association of Mexico which has invited the attendance of representatives from free-thinking and atheistic associations in the U. S., Brazil, Peru, and other Latin American republics. The announced purpose of the meeting is to foster greater cooperation between these societies of North and South America. Plans call for the establishment of a central office in Mexico City with definite authority to expand the atheistic press in America.

New Japanese Faiths

It is estimated that there are 800 quasi or new religious faiths preached in Japan, 80 per cent of which are based in some way or another on Shintoism, according to a report in the last issue of *Catholic Missions*. The Home Office and the Department of Education made a study of the rise of these so-called new religions, and their popularity has been attributed to the following causes: (1) inactivity of orthodox established religions, (2) unrest of the people, (3) imperfect medical service, and (4) a revival of religious thought.

These reasons may be assembled in a simple thesis and presented thus as an aspect of the religious question in Japan: the people are turning to religion for consolation and eagerly listening to any doctrine which, besides satisfying their spiritual needs, promises a remedy for their physical and social ills.

A Japanese contributor to *East and West—Conflict or Cooperation?* says that a study of the influence of Christianity upon Japanese culture during the past 75 years shows that this influence has been felt powerfully in three very important respects: "First of all, it has raised the status of Japanese women; secondly, it has set a worthy example before other religious organizations in its efforts to soften the impact of modern industry upon Japanese life; and, thirdly, it has widened the international outlook of the Japanese people."

THEY SAY

Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

FASCIST FRENCH MOROCCO?

(*Will French Morocco be the spring-board of France's Fascists, just as Spanish Morocco was Franco's?*)—Editor's Note.

In an interview which General Noguès, governor general of French Morocco, gave to the reactionary *L'Époque* of Paris, concerning Italian and German propaganda in that colony, he used the expression "These nations have found here a propitious terrain."

He could not have been more explicit. For once, at least, Mr. Noguès did not lie, because it is he who has made that region receptive toward Fascist propaganda.

Mussolini made it known in Morocco that the Italian state is paying all expenses for the support and tuition of several hundred Moroccan Arab students in Italian universities. Thus Morocco is becoming a propitious terrain for Fascist propaganda, because Mr. Noguès has refused all requests for scholarships made by young Moroccans who want to continue their studies in French universities.

Mussolini made it known in Morocco that Italy protects Islam in its colonies and the terrain becomes propitious for this Fascist propaganda because Mr. Noguès, great protector of the Catholic Church, has authorized a procession of bishops and of the Holy Sacrament in a Mohammedan country, prohibiting at the same time the celebration of a traditional Mohammedan holiday.

Mussolini floods Morocco with newspapers and pamphlets and albums in Arabic, which sing the praises of the Fascist regime in its colonies, and so the terrain is becoming propitious for these panegyrics because Mr. Noguès took it upon himself to prohibit all counter-propaganda. While Fascist literature in Arabic may circulate freely all over Morocco, under the vigilant and protective eye of the police, Mr. Noguès has prohibited in Morocco the spread of anti-Fascist literature in Arabic, particularly the pamphlet "Italian Atrocities in Libya," which describes the crimes committed against the tribes of Tripolis and Cyrenaica. And then Mr. Noguès has the audacity to justify his persecution

of the Moroccans by the existence of Fascist propaganda, which he encourages, while prohibiting propaganda opposing Fascism.

If all these facts were not sufficient to show that the provocateur Noguès is working for international Fascism by his systematic preparation of the "propitious terrain for Fascist propaganda," those who prefer to judge situations by men instead of by facts, shall examine the records of the men whom Mr. Noguès has entrusted with the task of carrying out his policies, the men whom he has appointed to the most important offices of the State.

These are, among others: Colonel Mellier, Director of Political Affairs, royalist. Colonel Mellier belonged to

slapped the face of a prominent Mohammedan guilty of not having greeted him. This caused a protest from the Socialist deputy, Hussel, to which, however, no attention was paid.

Among the civilian employees, Mr. Mazoyer, Director of the Press Bureau, appointed by Mr. Noguès, is a former *camélot du roi*. His assistant, Mr. Simonnot, also brought to Morocco by Noguès, is a former editor-in-chief of the anti-Jewish magazine, "Savez-vous?"

—R. Louzon in the semi-monthly old syndicalist magazine *La Révolution Proletarienne*, Paris, December 1937.



OFF WITH THE OLD LOVE
Italy resigns from the League of Nations

the inner circle of the former Governor Lyautey, and just as all its members, he had the same royalist opinions as his chief. This was the reason he was removed by one of the civil governors who followed Lyautey.

It was Noguès who recalled and reinstated Colonel Mellier and, by entrusting him with the direction of political affairs, made him the most important functionary of all Morocco.

General Blanc, chief of the region of Fez, as ultra-reactionary as Colonel Mellier, belonged to the circle of Lyautey and due to his reactionary opinions was dismissed by one of the civil governors.

It was Noguès who recalled him and who by entrusting him with the command of the most important region of Morocco, established him as the organizer of provocation. In his role as provocateur, he does not hesitate to act in person. Thus, even before the present events, in a public street, he

UNREST IN FRENCH AFRICA

Do you believe that in view of the present struggle for predominance in the Mediterranean, a struggle which is becoming more and more bitter, the eighty airplanes concentrated in the airfield of Tunis (during the imperial cruise) will be of great weight if France cannot count on the spontaneous and enthusiastic support of the three North African peoples?

And now another question.

Do you believe that in the present state of mind and mutual relations, it will still be possible for France to obtain, by compulsion and by terror, the support of the three peoples on the day when her mortal enemies leap at her throat? If you believe that, so much the worse for you.

—*L'Action Tunisienne*, Arab Journal of Tunis.

Everywhere in Morocco repression is rampant and we hear only what the great daily press reports. By the hundreds fellahs are brought before mediaeval courts of justice and later fill all kinds of prisons. Flogging has been reestablished and whole tribes are being punished by destroying their villages.

—Gaston Delmas, secretary of the Socialist Federation of Morocco, in *Maroc Socialiste*, Fez, Morocco.

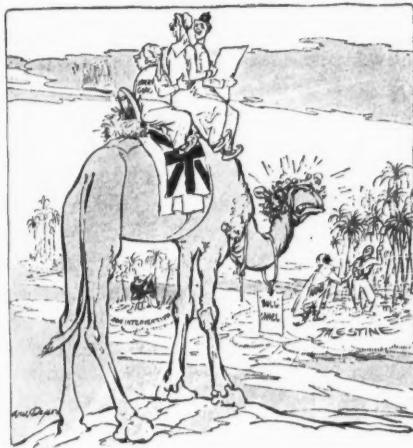
Schacht's Polemic Against Hitler

"Only optimism and not pessimism can overcome the difficulties of life, but it is wrong to try to persuade anybody that castor oil is honey."

—Hjalmar Schacht in *Deutsche Volkswirt*, October 29, 1937.

FASCISM AND THE WORLD OF ISLAM

The philo-Islamic and philo-Arabic propaganda of Fascism reached its maximum intensity after three years of patient efforts, in March 1937, during the journey of Mussolini in Libya. On March 18, two thousand native cavalrymen in the name of the Mohammedans and soldiers of Libya, who formerly never dreamed of sending such a delegation, offered Mussolini the sword of Islam. In the speech thanking them for this offering, Mussolini said: "I came to find out your desires. Fascist Italy intends to secure for the Mohammedan population of Libya and Ethiopia peace, justice and well-being as well as respect for the laws of the prophet. I also will demon-



Daily Herald, London
THE CAMEL
"Another blinkin' mirage!"

strate Italy's sympathy to Islam and the Mohammedans of the whole world." He added a sentence which could not fail to cause a smile among all those who thought of the events in Ethiopia. "You know that I am a man of few promises, but when I make promises I keep them." While in Tripoli, Mussolini told a Syrian journalist that all Libyan refugees can return to Libya, that he has no designs on Yemen, and that the Mohammedans of Ethiopia will be respected and protected.

There is no doubt that the Islamic policy of Fascism which pursued its aims for several years with consistency, great skill, large vision and impressive financial means has not yet obtained the expected results. So far, there has been no general revolt against France or against Great Britain. Fascism has not succeeded yet in imposing its aims on any of their Arab countries. In a few cases this policy has even had

effects opposite to those expected. Thus, to neutralize fascist propaganda England has recognized the independence of Egypt, and France is preparing to recognize the independence of Syria in a short time.

An independent Egypt and Syria would represent a much more serious obstacle to Fascist penetration than an Egypt or Syria subject to the rule of another European power. The Arab sovereigns, three of whom are descendants of the prophet and the fourth a religious chief of great importance, seem to have been rather annoyed by the title of "protector of Islam" which the Fascist press bestowed on Mussolini. These rulers, believe that if Islam needs a leader it will find him among its natural heads and not in a country which does not recognize the law of the prophet. The religious leaders of the near-East have also been unfavorably impressed.

In spite of that, it would be foolish to assert that the Islamic policy of Fascism has not obtained any results. Yemen, after a period of coolness caused by the fact that Italy did not give it any help during the war of 1934 against Saudi-Arabia, again shows friendly inclination towards Fascism, with the help of which it hopes to slice off from the British sphere a part of the territory in Southern Arabia. The state of Saud, former faithful ally of Great Britain, being now able to count on possible Fascist support, has recently loosened considerably the bonds of friendship which united it with England. The same can be said of Iraq which is becoming the center of Anti-British preparation in the near-East. The disorders in Palestine continue to be serious and the actions of the Palestine Arabs, subsidized and in-

stigated by Italian Fascism, continue to cost the lives of many Jews and many millions of pounds of Great Britain. The recent disorders in Beirut show that Syria is also far from having secured such equilibrium as would allow it to develop peacefully. This is a factor of instability which may lead to new international complications. The military Fascist threat also weighs on Egypt, which is compelled to increase its unproductive expenditures for a large and well equipped army, expenses which weigh heavily on the population, and which certainly do not increase the popularity of the young Egyptian democracy. In Morocco, the Fascists almost provoked a revolt in October which would have severely taxed the power of France.

Naturally Fascism is not the only cause of the agitation in the immense section of the Islamic world which stretches from Persia to the Atlantic Ocean, and which on a territory 15 times as large as France contains a population of almost 50,000,000. It has simply profited by a situation which already existed and which has been aggravated at present. And Fascism, which coordinates the alarming elements existing in this region, directs their activity and intensifies its action. It holds all the threads of this activity in territories as distant from each other as Morocco, Iraq and Tunisia and never hesitates to supply all the subversive elements with the means to continue their work. Thus Fascism has contributed to a situation that at any moment may become dangerous, provoking a feeling of insecurity in all nations and contributing to the expansion of despotic regimes.

—Max Salvadori in *Giustizia e Libertà*, December 19, 1937, Italian Anti-fascist weekly of Paris.



THE ARAB IN CHAINS

Ethiopian ex-slave: "I once bore chains like that. And then they talk of Italian ferocity and English humanity."

THE GRAVE SITUATION IN POLAND

The outcome of Poland's policy is now of decisive importance. A struggle is going on in that country for the control of the internal as well as the external policy.

This struggle has not yet been decided, though for the present the pro-German policy of Mr. Beck and his totalitarian tendencies seem to be getting the upper hand in the government.

The agreement concerning the minorities recently signed in Warsaw and in Berlin is the continuation and extension of the agreements of February 1934.

By this agreement the rulers of the two countries agreed to subordinate the problem of minorities, as well as that

The evolution toward Fascism is accentuated from day to day. Colonel Koc is reported to have asked for the suppression of the trade unions and to have chosen, together with Marshal Rydz-Smigly, a new cabinet composed exclusively of their friends of the rightist parties. Colonel Beck would, of course, retain the portfolio of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Grabowski, the well-known prosecutor of the famous or rather ill-famed trial of Brest-Litowsk against the chiefs of the opposition, would remain Minister of Justice.

On October 20, the President of the Polish Parliament, Mr. Car, called a special meeting of the group leaders. During this meeting, a deputy submitted a report on projects for a coup d'état, giving all details concerning a secret session of a general staff of the

Night," and as Rydz-Smigly put it himself, their quick action "would stupefy Europe."

The opposition would not submit meekly to such methods and aims. It would fight desperately. The peasants, the workers, the democrats, the intellectuals, aided by part of the army, would defend their liberty, their life and the future of Poland.

It is easy to recognize the dangers which such a situation implies for the peace of Europe. Fascist Poland would be no more than an annex of the Third Reich, and that would give to the "will for power" of Germany such possibilities and such incentives that Europe would be shaken to its foundation.

—André Leroux, in Blum's *Le Populaire*, Socialist daily of Paris.



Daily Herald, London

of Danzig, to the mutual aims along the lines of general politics. The internal situation may be explained by some information received from a reliable source.

In the government camp there seems to be a conflict between President Moscicki and Marshal Rydz-Smigly, when the former refused to sever all relations with the Socialists and the peasant parties, while the latter is veering more and more to the right.

"The new and sensational facts," writes our correspondent, "are that Rydz-Smigly appealed to the Nationalist and race-baiting Youth Organization of the Right, which since the resurrection of Poland has been in constant opposition to the Pilsudski regime. He has concluded with them a pact of aggression for the purpose of exterminating the last remnants of democracy and establishing a totalitarian regime à la Hitler."

"Ozon," the party of Rydz-Smigly and Koc.

"During this meeting, Mr. Koc insisted that repression on a grand scale would be needed to forestall any resistance of the opposition."

The plan, as outlined, was to enlist the aid of the Nationalist Youth in stirring up trouble in different parts of the country so there would be a pretext for the intervention of the police and armed forces. Rydz-Smigly would proclaim himself dictator to preserve "law and order." The President, Mr. Moscicki, would be removed and a totalitarian Fascist regime established. At the same time, all opposition parties and groups would be liquidated. All the political chiefs, who refuse to follow Marshal Rydz-Smigly, would be massacred without exception, including even the old Pilsudskiists. According to the expression of Mr. Koc, they would make a "St. Bartholomew's

His Majesty's Prisons

There is no mystery or concealment about life in His Majesty's prisons, and surprise visits from responsible people are welcomed. We have many such visits to Maidstone Prison, and visitors almost invariably seem pleasantly surprised at what they have seen, and although asked to make any suggestions for improvements, make very few. On the contrary several visitors have remarked that the prisoners "seem rather pampered." One visitor in particular was astonished to hear that the prisoners had been shown a film of the Coronation.

—Times, London.

Hardly the Type

News photographs in the Belisha manner of Lord Swinton, Minister for Air, fiddling with the new Air Force recruiting van, underlined sooner than we had expected the report in the last issue of THE WEEK on the supposed relation between under-training of bomber pilots, excessive air crashes in training, incapacity of the present

bombing fleet to carry out a war-time raid without enormous losses, and the unwillingness of politicians at the Air Ministry to raise the tests for fear of discouraging recruiting, recruiting figures being at the moment fashionably regarded as bull points on the Cabinet political stock exchange.

Further investigation reveals a further consideration operating powerfully at the Air Ministry. The theory is that if the navigation tests for bomber pilots are made harder, and at the same time recruiting is encouraged, there is a danger that what is known as "hardly the type of fellow we want" may start to swamp the service. "Hardly the type of fellow we want" is the type of fellow who without being at all out of the top drawer has somehow managed—as a result of all this popular education doubtless—to acquire a really remarkable grasp of practical technical problems, and in fact to be precisely what, other things being equal, a highly skilled and highly mechanized fighting force wants in the way of material.

Unfortunately, other things being so very far from equal, it has been found by experience that large numbers of those highly intelligent and physically and mentally skilful young men tend—again doubtless as a result of all this education—to hold political and social views which are by no manner of means those of the present political heads of the Air Ministry. In other words, the Air Ministry has in due course come rather sharply up against a problem which, as time goes on, will more and more seriously perturb political leaders.

—*The Week*, London.

Prince Mickey Mouse

By the expulsion of Hubert D. Harrison, Reuter's chief Balkan correspondent, the Jugoslav dictatorship has made itself a laughing stock. In his dead set against the democratic paper *Politika* the censor banned a Mickey Mouse comic strip by Walt Disney. The last picture had just reached the point in the story where the uncle of Prince Mickey Mouse, who was acting as Regent, started a military conspiracy against the over-popular prince. Harrison cabled this abroad. The neurotic Prince Paul, who makes diplomats' lives a misery by hunting for imagined slights in the British press, read into this cable an attack on himself, and Harrison was expelled. But the censor's real reason for banning Mickey Mouse, I hear, was not simply

that Walt Disney's cap might have been designed for the head of Prince Paul, but that it might have looked an even better fit for some of his Ministers. For the picture which was to follow showed Prince Mickey Mouse going to the safe to count the proceeds of the heavy taxation about which his subjects complained, only to find that his Ministers had emptied it. So the susceptibilities of M. Stoyadino-vitch and his colleagues were assuaged by the suppression of the picture, and Prince Paul's shattered nerves soothed by the expulsion of one of the few newspaper men in Belgrade who has refused to knuckle under to the terror-



Glasgow Record

IN DARKEST AFRICA

ism of this regime. And Father Korosetch, that unforgiving Catholic priest and Minister of the Interior, was able at last to revenge himself on the man who last July gave the world the story of how the Reverend Father set his police on to buffeting and bayoneting bishops and priests of a rival church, the Serbian Orthodox, when they marched in religious procession through Belgrade to protest against Korosetch's pet scheme, the Concordat with Rome.

—Critic in *The New Statesman and Nation*, London.

The Holy Alliance

In its manner of expression and in appealing to the Holy Trinity, the text of this Fascist alliance conforms closely with the pact which the Czar of Russia, the Kaiser of Austria and the King of Prussia signed on September 26, 1815, and which is known in history as the Holy Alliance. It is more of a mystical than a political document. However, one automatically supposes that in connection with this document there are additional secret agreements, more positive and more precisely outlined. Mussolini did not always entertain toward Soviet Russia the sentiments now expressed in the new Holy Alliance. He was the first to establish an

understanding with Soviet Russia. Germany has not hesitated to follow Italy and to go even farther toward an understanding with the Soviet Union. This alone should be sufficient to make the Holy Alliance appear suspicious.

—Henri de Kerillis in pro-fascist *L'Epoque*. Paris.

Italian Fascism Becomes Anti-Semitic

A cheap popular edition of *The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion* has just been published in the Italian language. The new edition has a lengthy preface which points out that the "Protocols" are authentic and give proof that the Jews try to obtain the domination of the world by every means. The anti-Semitic periodical *La Vita Italiana* wrote in connection with an announcement of the new edition, "It is possible that some people, forgetting what our magazine wrote some time ago concerning the *Protocols*, may refer to the trial which the Jews provoked in Berne a few years ago. In answer to this we maintain that everything which has been published about with these *Protocols* is the absolute truth, in spite of the manoeuvres of the press and Jewish influence."

The same issue of this periodical vigorously attacks the publishers of the *Italian Encyclopedia* because it entrusted with the editing of its item on "Anti-Semitism" the Jewish scientist Alberto Pincherle, professor of the history of religions in the University of Rome. "The Jew Pincherle," writes *La Vita Italiana*, "exploited this opportunity, of course, to deny the authenticity of these *Protocols*, which have been worrying the Jewish race for the last twenty-five years."

—Pariser Tageszeitung. (German Emigré daily), Paris, November 7, 1937.

La Roque Prints 5,000,000 Stamps with His Portrait

We are not surprised to learn that Colonel Casimir de la Rocque has had his picture printed on stamps in Lyons. These are stickers a little larger than our 65 centime stamps, on which the face of de la Rocque appears, without any inscription.

The order is quite considerable because it amounted to five million of these stickers.

Why was the printing ordered in Lyons and not in Paris? Why this immense number? Is there some relation between these stamps and a certain doctor in Lyons who is considered to be the local chief of the Cagoulards?

—Le Populaire, Paris, November 20.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Dec. 5-Jan. 6

DOMESTIC

DECEMBER 5—Governor George D. Aiken of Vermont, in an open letter to the Republican Party's national committee, urges a purge to rid the national committee of reactionary and unfair elements. Governor Aiken declares the Republican party is nearly in a state of complete demoralization.

DECEMBER 7—The Board of Tax Appeals exonerates Andrew W. Mellon of the charge of income-tax fraud. The board found that the government was entitled to a little less than \$500,000. This was owed from Mr. Mellon's 1931 income. The government claimed \$3,089,261 against the former Secretary of State's estate.

Lammot DuPont declares that business is ready to carry the burden of social responsibility if only the government would lift the fog hiding future taxation and that labor would assure stability.

DECEMBER 8—Joseph P. Kennedy is decided upon by President Roosevelt as the man to replace Robert W. Bingham as envoy to Great Britain.

A platform for American Industry for the coming year is adopted by the National Association of Manufacturers. They reassert the right of all workers to bargain alone or jointly and urge the repeal of the profits tax as hampering capital developments.

DECEMBER 9—Works Progress Administrator, Harry L. Hopkins, announces that in order to take care of the increasing need for relief in the country 350,000 additional workers would receive employment on WPA projects.

DECEMBER 10—Representative Cartwright of Oklahoma, chairman of the House Roads Committee, announces that he will not call his committee together during the special session in compliance with Presidential recommendation for withdrawal of Federal road aid for the fiscal year of 1939.

Pan American Airways, through Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, invites eight leading U. S. aircraft manufacturers to submit bids for planes capable of carrying 100 passengers and with a range of 5,000 miles, at a cruising speed of 200 miles an hour.

DECEMBER 11—The CIO gives 200 organizers notice that they will be laid off because of the business recession. The staff of CIO organizers had reached a peak of 652.

DECEMBER 12—Plans for endowing the Alfred P. Sloan foundation with about ten million dollars worth of securities are announced by Alfred P. Sloan, chairman of the General Motors Corporation. The proposed endowment consists of General Motors Corporation common stock. The foundation is to be organized for economic research.

DECEMBER 13—The New Deal wins an important victory as the Supreme court votes 6 to 3 in upholding the stoppage of interest in calling of Liberty Loan Gold Bonds.

DECEMBER 14—President Roosevelt's demand that farm-bill costs be held to five million dollars a year unless any additional authorized amounts were covered by the imposing of new taxes, was ignored when Senator Vandenberg's amendment to limit expenditures to five millions met defeat in the Senate by a vote of 49 to 23.

DECEMBER 15—Dr. Glenn Frank is chosen chairman of the Republican Committee on Program, which will draft a declaration of party principles. Dr. Frank, formerly president of Wisconsin University, is identified with the liberal wing of the Republican party.

DECEMBER 17—Ending a day of sharp debate, the House votes 216 to 198 to recommit the Wages and Hours Bill to the Labor Committee. This action will probably result in the indefinite shelving of the bill.

DECEMBER 18—Robert Worth Bingham, United States Ambassador to England, dies at 66.

DECEMBER 19—Senate Banking and Currency sub-committee votes unanimously to report the Wagner-Steagall Housing Bill to the full committee when it meets tomorrow. The Wagner-Steagall Housing Bill would amend the National Housing Act.

DECEMBER 20—Railway stock juggling by some of the country's leading railroad systems is attacked by members of the Senate. Charges in the Senate were made by Senator Truman; those before the Committee on Interstate Commerce came from Senator Wheeler.

DECEMBER 21—Frank B. Kellogg, former Secretary of State dies at 81. Mr. Kellogg was known as the father of the pact outlawing war.

The special session of Congress ends with no important measures having been passed.

DECEMBER 22—President Roosevelt warns Congress that it must assume full responsibility for appropriations in excess of budget estimates and that if road building appropriations were not cut, other funds should be reduced to make up the difference.

DECEMBER 23—Nathan Straus earmarks \$31,250,000 in Federal funds for slum clearance and low-cost housing.

The National Labor Relations Board finds the Ford Motor Company guilty of violating the Wagner Labor Relations Act. Fight in courts planned by Ford.

DECEMBER 24—Overtures made by the United Auto Workers of America are spurned by the Ford Motor Company. The company's spokesman declares the intention of carrying the fight to the Supreme Court if necessary.

DECEMBER 25—Newton D. Baker, wartime Secretary of War, dies at 66 in his Cleveland home.

Special committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States makes public a report which estimates the nation's 1938 tax load to be 20 per cent of its

income. The committee puts the sum at \$13,500,000,000.

DECEMBER 26—Robert H. Jackson, Assistant Attorney General, asserts that the United States is now entering a major depression. He blames the policies of big business and monopolists for many of the economic ills of the past and present.

DECEMBER 27—The International Ladies Garment Workers Union expresses its disappointment and profound regret over the failure of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. peace negotiations.

DECEMBER 28—William S. Knudsen, president of the General Motors Corporation, announces that 30,000 employees will be dropped from payrolls and 205,000 other men will be put on a three-day, twenty-four hour week.

President Roosevelt reveals that he will ask Congress to authorize an enlargement of the naval building program already earmarked for the fiscal year 1939.

DECEMBER 29—Robert H. Jackson, in new address, tells political scientists that "big business" is leading a general strike against the New Deal.

DECEMBER 30—President Roosevelt is revealed as the driving power against monopolies in an attempt by the Administration to beat down prices in anticipation of a private building program sponsored by the Federal Government. The President hopes to reduce the heavy relief expenditures and in the near future to balance the budget.

DECEMBER 31—The price that the Treasury will pay for newly mined domestic silver is lowered from 77.57 to 64.64 cents an ounce by President Roosevelt. In doing this the President defied the congressional silver group which had demanded maintenance of the higher price.

JANUARY 1—The first independent national unemployment census ever taken by the government indicated unemployment in mid-November to be between 7,800,000 and 10,800,000. A personal check of 1,950,000 persons was made in a house-to-house canvass and indicated a 72 per cent response.

JANUARY 3—President Roosevelt in his address at the opening of Congress asks for cooperation between government and business to increase the national income. Those who misleadingly assert that the Administration was attacking all industry in an effort to correct abuses were assailed by the President.

JANUARY 5—Projected economies of more than half a billion dollars fail to prevent a one billion deficit in a seven billion budget, forecast by the President in his budget message.

Justice George Sutherland writes President Roosevelt that he will retire from the bench on January 18. He has served for 15 years as a member of the Supreme Court.

The Ford Motor Company's petition for a rehearing on the board's complaint that the company had violated the Wagner Labor Relations Act, was denied by the Labor Relations Board.

JANUARY 6—Dr. Glenn Frank accepts post as chairman of the Republican party's committee on Program. The former Wisconsin University president promised to conduct an open-minded search for policies that will keep America a going concern.

INTERNATIONAL

DECEMBER 5—French Foreign Minister Yvon Delbos finds Poland less anti-Semitic, less pro-fascist than anticipated.

DECEMBER 7—Premier Milan Stoyadinovitch of Yugoslavia leaves Rome after successful visit. No question of detaching Yugoslavia from France, but Italians feel that French influence has been weakened by Italo-Yugoslav pact.

DECEMBER 9—English Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain reaffirms belief in Imperial preference, reassuring Dominions regarding Anglo-United States trade treaty. Belgium reported unwilling to consider cession of Congo to Germany. French Foreign Minister Delbos hails French-Rumanian ties as essential to peace.

DECEMBER 10—Nicaragua and Honduras sign treaty ending threat of war over boundary dispute.

DECEMBER 11—Mussolini announces Italy's withdrawal from League of Nations before cheering crowd in Rome.

DECEMBER 12—Foreign Minister Delbos' visit to Yugoslavia greeted by popular enthusiasm and riots against fascist tendencies of the minority Stoyadinovitch government. Great Britain unconcerned about Italy's resignation from League.

DECEMBER 13—Yugoslavia to sign trade pact with France. League of Nations Armaments Year Book estimates world arms expenditure for 1937 at 7,100,000,000 gold dollars, as compared with \$5,800,000 in 1936 and \$2,500,000 in 1935.

DECEMBER 16—Foreign Minister Delbos pleased with results of visit to Czechoslovakia.

DECEMBER 19—Czechoslovakia reported able to hold off all foes.

DECEMBER 20—New issue of *Jane's Fighting Ships* shows that Britain holds lead in naval rearment.

DECEMBER 24—Pope Pius protests Nazi attacks on Catholic Church.

DECEMBER 26—Great Britain to inaugurate radio programs to Near East to combat Italian propaganda.

JANUARY 4—Great Britain postpones application of partition plan in Palestine.

JANUARY 5—Great Britain and France warn Russia against pursuit of anti-Semitic policy.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

DECEMBER 5—British gunboat and two merchantmen bombed by Japanese near Nanking. Japanese capture Kuyung, 25 miles southeast of Nanking and important key to that city.

DECEMBER 7—Chinese go into battle to defend first line of Nanking's inner defenses.

DECEMBER 9—Trapped on peak near Nanking, 300 Chinese annihilated.

DECEMBER 10—Japanese call upon Nanking to surrender.

DECEMBER 11—Japanese enter main gates of Nanking, encounter strong resistance in streets; Chinese leaders blame mutinies and deals with Japanese for defeats.

DECEMBER 13—Japanese troops, preceded by tanks, pour into Nanking. United States gunboat *Panay* sunk by Japanese bombs on Yangtze River.

Twenty new Japanese employees appointed to Shanghai customs office.

DECEMBER 14—United States demands full satisfaction from Japan for sinking of *Panay*, and also guarantee against further attacks; British angry over attacks on gunboats; Japanese worried over their failure to drive wedge between Great Britain and United States.

Japanese claim fall of Nanking. "Provisional Government of the Republic of China" established at Peiping.

DECEMBER 15—Secretary of State Cordell Hull sends formal note of protest to Japan, demanding full redress for bombing of *Panay* and three Standard Oil ships. Japan apologizes.

Japan expected to place new Peiping provincial government over all conquered provinces of China.

Britain abandons hope of joint action with United States in Far East.

DECEMBER 16—Rear Admiral Mitsunami, chief of Japanese aerial operations, removed from post as result of *Panay* bombing; Admiral Yarnell reports bombing was deliberate.

DECEMBER 22—Revival of optimism in China indicates that Russian help has been promised.

Premier Neville Chamberlain warns Japan; France backs moves to uphold Western prestige in Orient.

Japan denies that the *Panay* was intentionally bombed.

DECEMBER 23—Japanese drive on towards Hangchow.

DECEMBER 25—In new apology to United States, Japan claims guilty have been punished; United States accepts apology, but insists on safeguards for future.

Japanese claim capture of Hangchow, and proclaim blockade of Tsingtao.

DECEMBER 27—Fall of Tsinan reported.

DECEMBER 28—Japanese advance from Tsinan towards Shantung.

DECEMBER 29—Japan threatens to drive on to Chungking, 1,000 miles into interior.

DECEMBER 30—Chinese start to raze Tsingtao as its capture is threatened.

JANUARY 1—Tsingtao falls into hands of Japanese.

JANUARY 4—Chinese bomb Nanking area; Japanese deny recapture of Hangchow.

JANUARY 5—Japanese plan to abolish French and British concessions in Tientsin.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

DECEMBER 5—Loyalist bombers break up troop concentrations on Aragon front.

DECEMBER 12—Spanish rebels report success of three drives launched at Toledo, Brunete, and Teruel.

DECEMBER 18—Last defenses of Teruel fall before Loyalist attack.

DECEMBER 19—Loyalist forces enter eastern end of Teruel after heavy fighting.

DECEMBER 22—Loyalists, after victory at Teruel, drive on to west.

DECEMBER 23—Rebels rush artillery to Teruel.

DECEMBER 25—Rebels in Teruel refuse to surrender.

DECEMBER 26—Loyalists claim to have burned last rebel strongholds in Teruel.

DECEMBER 29—Battle around Teruel involves 300,000 troops.

JANUARY 2—Battle around Teruel continues despite two feet of snow.

JANUARY 4—Teruel held by Loyalists, despite counter-attacks.

FOREIGN

Egypt

DECEMBER 30—King Farouk dismisses cabinet of Mustapha Nahas Pasha, with large parliamentary majority; later appoints Mahamed Mahmoud Pasha, leader of Liberal Constitutional Party, as Premier.

France

DECEMBER 14—Modification of 40-hour week seen, in order to increase production of defense materials.

DECEMBER 29—Workers in Paris transportation, gas, electricity, and water services launch general strike.

DECEMBER 30—Paris strike ended by wage compromise.

Germany

DECEMBER 5—Count von Preysing, Catholic Bishop of Berlin, attacks Nazi religious policy.

DECEMBER 20—General Ludendorff, chief army strategist during war, dies.

JANUARY 5—Rev. Martin Niemoeller warns against communism as a result of Nazi persecution of Christians.

Mexico

DECEMBER 9—Government seeks to place entire \$250,000,000 foreign petroleum industry on a royalty-paying basis.

DECEMBER 23—Wide area in central and southern Mexico shaken by earthquake.

DECEMBER 30—United States and British oil interests refuse to pay higher wages ordered by Government.

JANUARY 2—Government abrogates Morrow-Calles oil pact with United States seeking to place petroleum industry on royalty basis.

Rumania

DECEMBER 26—Premier George Tătărescu resigns after defeat in December 21 general election.

DECEMBER 28—King Carol appoints Christian Goga, co-leader of anti-Semitic, pro-German National Christian Party as Premier, despite the fact that his party gained only 10 percent of votes at general election.

DECEMBER 29—Goga Cabinet takes dictatorial steps, posting army detachments in each district and suppressing three democratic newspapers.

DECEMBER 30—Jews forbidden to own land and all Jews naturalized after 1920 deprived of citizenship.

JANUARY 2—Nicholas Titulescu, former Foreign Minister, offers his help in fighting fascism.

JANUARY 4—New government disavows anti-Semitism but continues to repress Jews.

JANUARY 5—Premier Goga receives from London and Paris mild protests against his anti-Semitic tendencies.

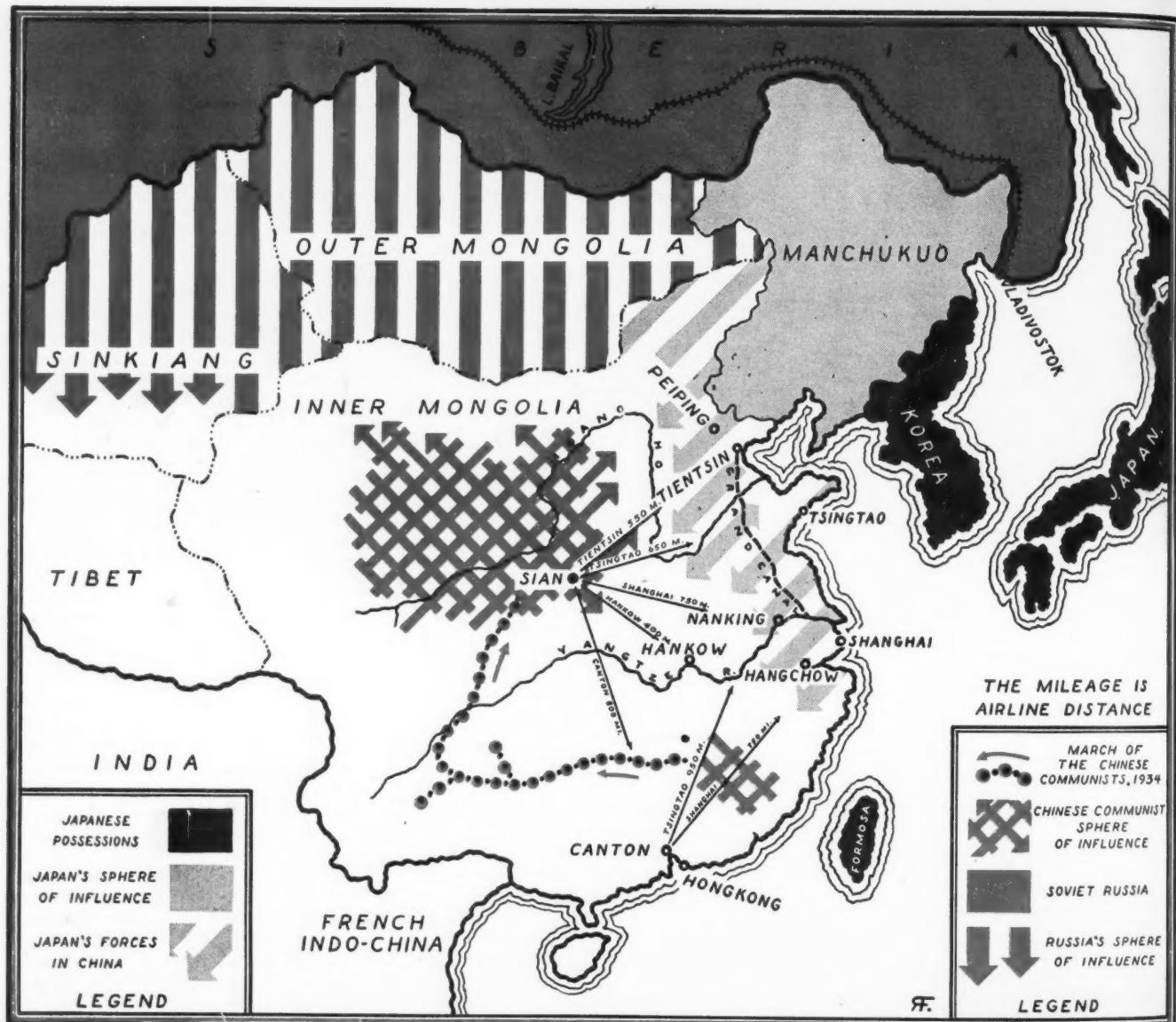
Russia

DECEMBER 11—Stalin closes first Soviet election campaign, which he hails as most democratic in world.

DECEMBER 19—Execution of eight important officials announced on 20th Anniversary of Secret Political Police.

JANUARY 31—Second five-year plan ends; third calls for 15 percent increase in population in 1938—lowest annual increase yet scheduled.

The Camera's Story of History-in-the-Making



CHINA'S COMMUNISTS

China? There lies a sleeping giant. Let him sleep! For when he wakes, he will move the world.

—Napoleon.

THE communists in China operate a nation within a nation. They have their own government, levy their own taxes, maintain armies, schools, hospitals, etc. They are believed to control 20,000,000 out of an estimated total Chinese population of 450,000,000. Before 1936, their objective was to defeat and crush the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek, which had pursued them unmercifully for ten years, and then to wage war against Japan. Early that year, however, in a change supposed to have been inspired by the Third International at Moscow,

the communists changed tactics, declared for a united front of all democratic forces against Japan, held out an olive branch to the Government, and offered to renounce their identity as communists if China would wage war against Nippon. They were willing, they said, to abide by the laws of a democratic nation, once the invader was vanquished, and submit to a parliamentary form of government, with a democratically-elected "Congress of National Salvation."

But almost coincident with this change in tactics, Japan renewed its demand upon Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for "military cooperation" between China and Japan against the communists. Nippon had heard of al-

most legendary feats of the communist forces—of a march across the length and breadth of China, from the southern Kiangsi provinces, where they were hemmed in by superior Government forces, to the northwestern province of Shensi, where they are now concentrated. Thousands of lives were taken by cold, starvation, and the pursuing bullets of Chiang Kai-shek, but the communists completed their 8,000 hegira in one of the most remarkable marches in all history. Japan had heard, too, of millions who had joined the march, of the thousands of lives saved through universal vaccination, of the widespread elimination of epidemic and disease, of an education program which at last began to make a dent in



General Ho Lung and Photographer Harrison Forman.



Comparing notes before a lesson in army strategy.

the almost universal illiteracy of the people. But most alarming to Japan was the armed forces of the communists which numbered hundreds of thousands.

Faced with the conflicting demands of the communists and the Japanese government, Chiang Kai-shek attempted to steer a middle course. He said he would rather have certain areas occupied by Chinese communists than

by Japanese soldiers, but that he would continue his own campaign against the communists. Last winter, Chiang was kidnapped by Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang with the help of the communist army and was released unharmed after he agreed to a number of the communists' demands, which are believed to have centered around the promise that the Generalissimo would fight if Japan attacked again.

Chiang Kai-shek kept his promise. The July incidents of 1937 found him standing his ground. Out of China's resistance and refusal to humble itself grew the present war. The communists, in their turn, have mobilized to drive out the invader.

Calling themselves the Chinese People's Vanguard Anti-Japanese Army, they are prepared to throw 500,000 crack troops against the enemy. Their



The ABC's mean just that. The compulsory education program of the communists has done away with Chinese characters.



Each Thompson sub-machine gun is the equivalent of fifty army rifles at close range.

leader and commander-in-chief is General Chu Teh, upon whose head before the current war against Japan was placed a price of \$250,000 dead or alive, by Chiang Kai-shek, and whose personal fortune has been placed at the disposal of the party. President of the Central Soviet Government is Mao Tse-tung, tubercular hero of the march who, it is said, exerts a stronger influence upon the communists than any

other single man. He is pale, coughs continuously. He once captured 600 Government prisoners, talked to them for three hours, and then offered them their freedom. Five hundred refused to leave and asked to join his forces.

The military forces of the communists are divided into separate armies under separate commanders who are also responsible for the civilian populations in their own districts. The

most famed, perhaps, of these commanders is General Ho Lung, who with only 20,000 men extended the Soviet regions seven years ago in western Hanan and in Hopei to become a threat to the Wuhan and Yangtze central areas. Ho Lung now commands the Second Front Red Army, said to be the best equipped of all the communist forces.

Harrison Forman, author and explorer, is one of the few occidentals



These light field guns, resembling French "75's" are especially designed for guerilla warfare. They are transported by mules.



Vaccination and inoculation are compulsory for all Chinese communists. The "physician" is 16 years old.

actually to have seen the Chinese communist government in action. The armies, he reports, are better drilled and better equipped than government troops. The accompanying photographs, taken by Forman, are among the few pictures available on the Chinese communists. They tell the story of an army which many military observers believe holds the key to the outcome of the current conflict. They

show, too, the youth of the soldiers, who average less than 20 years. Of the half million troops, 120,000 are equipped with the latest weapons of warfare. The American-made Thompson sub-machine guns, which became famous during the United States prohibition era, are used by many divisions instead of the usual army rifle. At close range, the Thompson sub-machine gun is as effective as fifty rifles.

Chinese communist leaders declare that if a Soviet form of government is ever established in China, it will guarantee full religious freedom, protect the lives, property, and rights of all foreigners except the Japanese, and would be agreeable to alliances with friendly foreign nations who are prepared to treat China as an equal. (*Exclusive photos by Harrison Forman from International.*)



Practice in the Red salute. They have been taught to hate Japan and to love China.

MORE POWER TO YOU

ECONOMIC planners envisage a future in which a new American society will build toward greater happiness from a power base. Their vision embraces an age with power as free as air, where men liberated from petty toil and drudgery will achieve dignity and leisure and realize fully the hopes of political democracy. And a beginning toward this end has already been made. The giant hydroelectric dams rapidly building throughout the nation are dedicated to relieve man of his most onerous burdens. In size larger than anything that has gone before, the dams are in turn dwarfed by their significance to the immediate future.

In the seven power regions—divisions of the nation for the sake of a coherent planning pattern—men are at work throughout the day and night harnessing great rivers with steel and concrete. Grand Coulee Dam, which will cost some \$260,000,000, is being built in the Columbia River Valley and will be, when complete, not only the largest power project, but the largest building job in the world. As an example of means to be employed in gaining the end President Roosevelt has outlined, Grand Coulee is unexcelled. In the immediate future this tremendous monument to man's engineering craft will generate 2,000,000 kilowatts of power every year. Together with the production of the Bonneville Dam building farther down the Columbia River this power output will electrify the Pacific Northwest. It is expected that not only farms and homes will utilize this power but industries will find it an inexpensive way to assist in the exploitation of the region's natural resources. In addition the Grand Coulee reservoir will contain sufficient water to sluice the dry acres of the Columbia River Valley to the south, and make it fertile for over 25,000 drought-stricken families waiting to settle on the land.

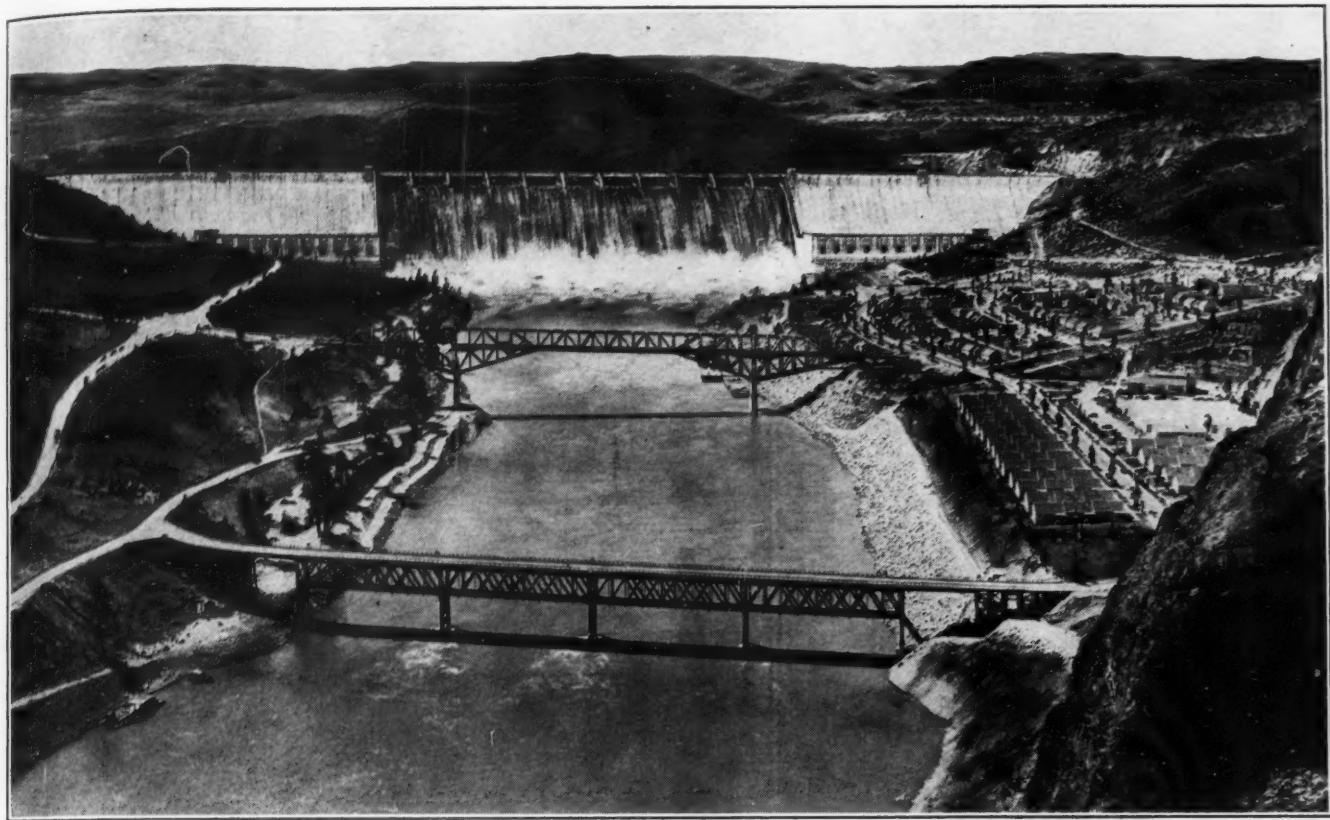


Erecting steel towers for the Danyville project.

Comparative statistics concerning the construction of Grand Coulee are staggering. In height it will tower upward 55 stories from a base some 3,000 feet thick. Several buildings the size of the U. S. Capitol could be buried in the wall of the Dam that curves inward against the river's flow.



Grand Coulee Dam illuminated by night, where construction proceeds on twenty-four-hour basis.



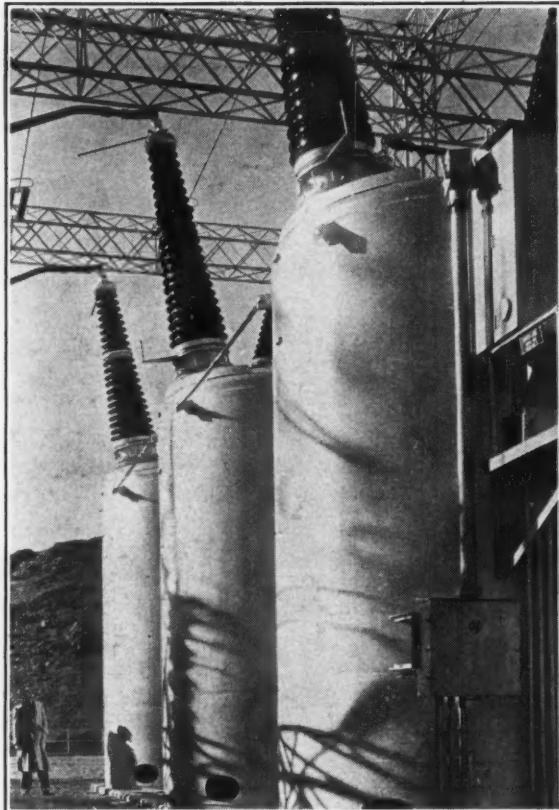
Artist's conception of Grand Coulee completed to its full height of approximately 550 feet.

And the Grand Coulee, although the largest, is only one of many dams throughout the nation. Fifteen Federal projects are finished or under way, while 13 other non-Federal power projects are in various stages of completion. Of these, the Boulder Dam ranks only slightly below the

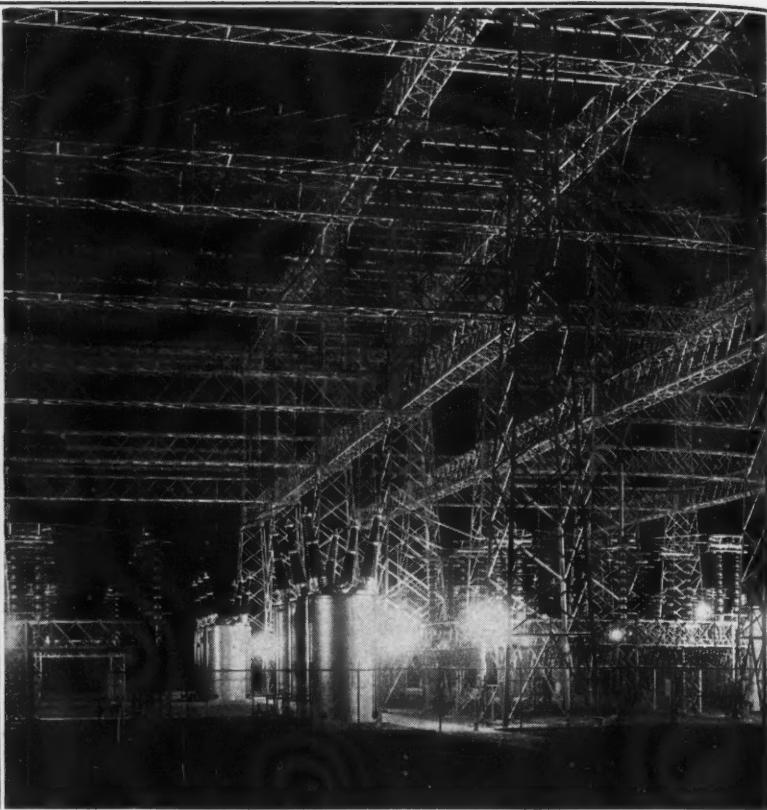
Grand Coulee as an object of national interest. Located in Nevada its four 115,000 horse power generating units send power to Los Angeles over the main line at 287,500 volts. Plans call for an installation of eleven more units of similar power with two additional units of 55,000 horse power.



Wilson Dam, the nucleus of the TVA, operates nine generators of 261,400 horse power.



Oil circuit breakers at Boulder Dam.



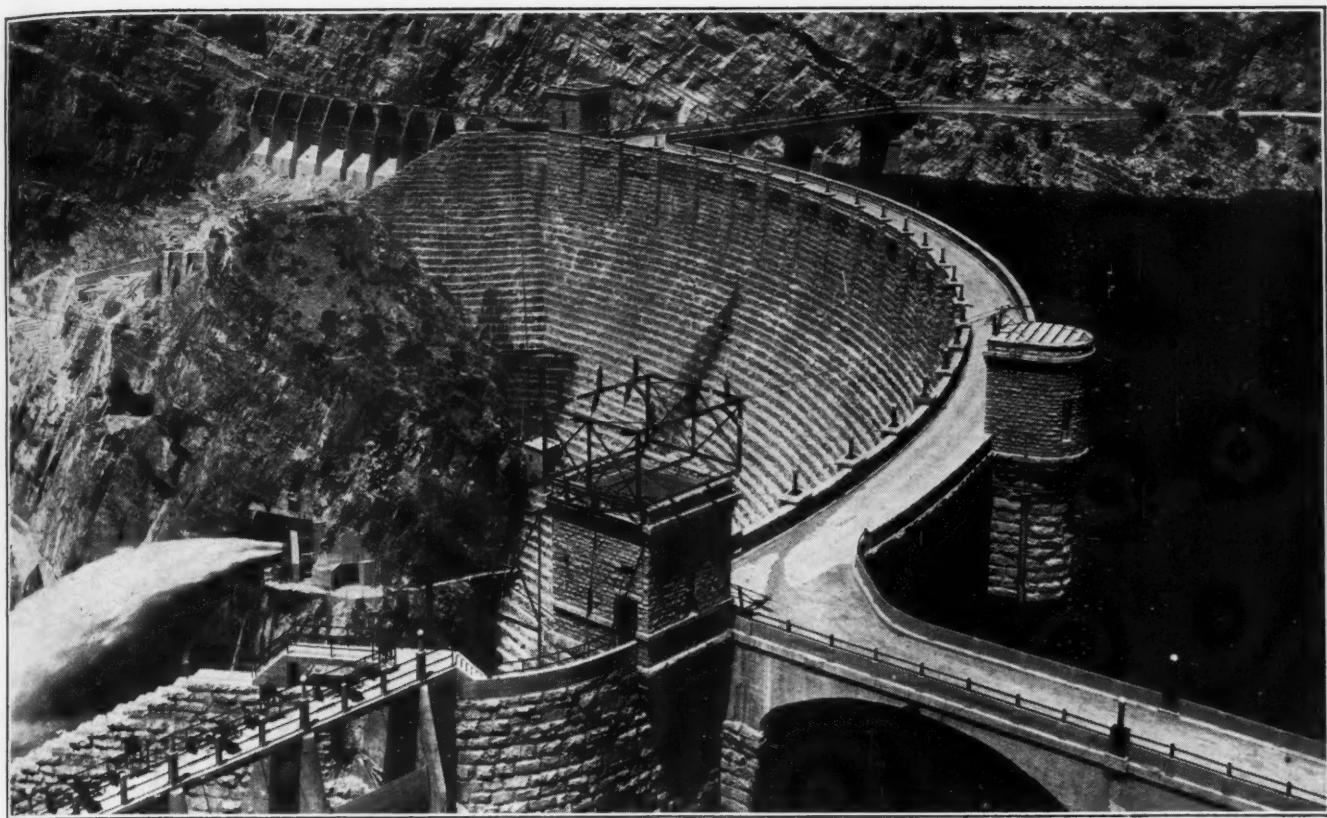
Switching yard at Boulder Dam by night.

In the Tennessee Valley lies the heart of the Federal power program. Here the struggle between Government and private ownership ebbs and flows. Norris Dam with its two 66,000 horse power generators and its capacious reservoir and Wilson Dam are the nucleus of a power Au-

thority which will, eventually, cover 50,600 square miles in seven states for navigation, flood control, power generating, and the fight against soil erosion. Since its inception the Tennessee Valley Authority has been bitterly opposed by private utility companies seeking to destroy the program.



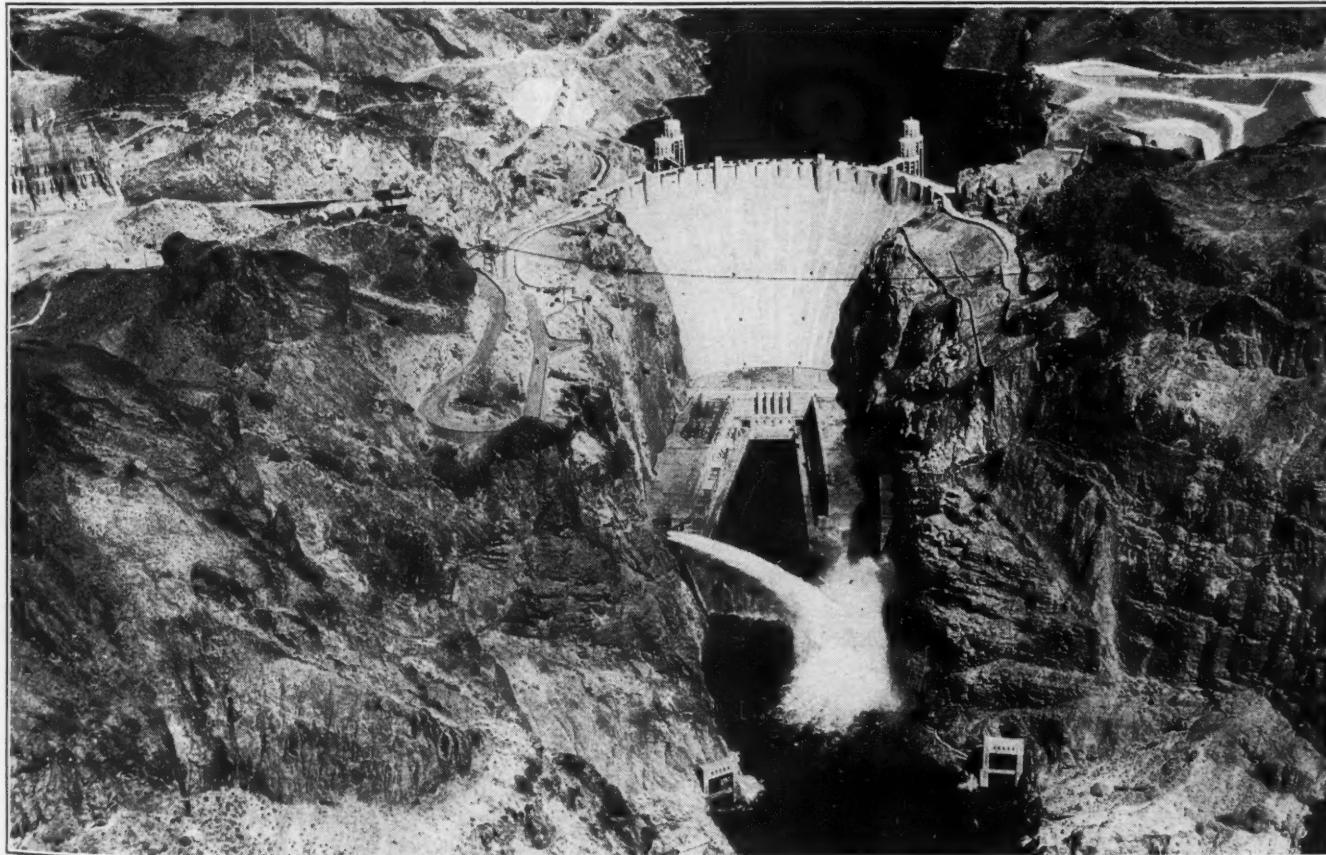
Panorama of Fort Peck dam site at the headwaters of the Missouri River in Montana.



Roosevelt Dam on Salt River completed in 1911 is now undergoing alterations started in 1936.

But whether the citizen finds the Federal power project good or bad he is impelled to admire the physical beauty of the various constructions. For in the sheer bulwarks of steel and concrete, in the gleaming dynamos, and precise turbines lies the synthesis of the mechanical age; and the

symbol of a nation's will to free from drudgery the human pack beasts of society. The Dams are monuments to civil engineering—that ancient science which seeks, in the struggle with natural forces, the perfect balance, and also finds, more often than not, an esthetic truth.



Aerial view of Boulder Dam showing outdoor switching stations, spillways and turbine towers.

Travel

CUBA AND BERMUDA

A SHIPMENT of pigs that never did arrive at its destination is why Bermuda is called Bermuda. In fact, the entire history of the island might have been altered if the hogs had reached Cuba, where they were supposed to have gone in the first place.

It seems that Juan Bermudez, a Spanish sea captain, was told to ferry the pigs to what was then the other side of the world. It was at the beginning of the sixteenth century and a small Spanish colony had been established on a stretch of land that a middle-aged navigator, Christopher Columbus, had bunked into accidentally some years earlier. The colony needed livestock not only to satisfy immediate appetites but to serve as the nucleus for a permanent source of food. Bermudez accepted the job and was willing enough but he never reached Cuba. He lost a sail or two in a storm and his boat pitched about on the waves for several days until it ended up in a shipwreck on a strip of beach. At first, Bermudez believed he had reached Cuba and set out on an expedition to find his countrymen. The pigs were brought ashore,

little the worse for the wreck, although they had set up a mighty collective squeal when the water began to eddy into the boat. He believed at first that he had reached Cuba and formed an expedition to locate his countrymen. It took him but a few hours, however, to discover that the island was not "Cuba" but a small dot of land on the sea. The explorer climbed a tree and was able to see the shore line all around.

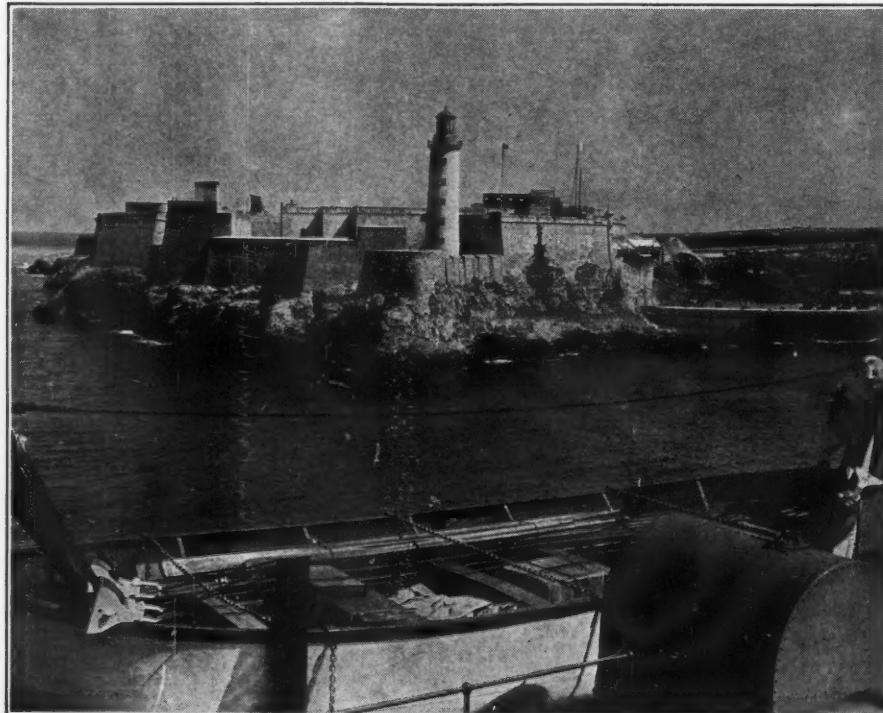
Not much more is known about Bermudez except that he lived to tell about his "little pearl" and have the island named after him. And of the pigs there is no record at all. The story is they went the way of all pork and that the meat was good while it lasted.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Henry May, an Englishman, suffered the same fate as Bermudez. His ship ran aground on the island and not long after that another shipwreck brought Sir George Somers to Bermuda. Sir George was the first to establish an English settlement on the island and in 1612 the Bermudas were granted to an offshoot of the Virginia Company, consisting of more than a hundred people, sixty of whom, under the com-

mand of Henry More, settled on the island. That was the beginning of the oldest self-governing colony in the British Empire.

Meanwhile, Cuba had been doing some flourishing on her own accord, although not always in a constructive direction. Although Bermudez' expedition failed, several other ships reached the island safely and soon the ambitious Spaniards were looking for new worlds to conquer. They had founded Havana, Trinidad, Puerto Principe and other now important cities by 1515, and sent out expeditions that discovered Yucatan and explored the shores of Mexico. One of their explorers was a determined individualist named De Soto who was anxious to find out about a large strip of land jutting out into the ocean and now known as Florida. De Soto's expedition drained Cuba of men, money and horses and for the next few years the island had a depression as serious as our own economic trouble of 1929-34. Searching around for new industries to pick up the business slack, the business men of the island hit on the idea of a slave trade and Cuba became an important hub for the African market as early as 1523. For a time the slave trade prospered and carried the island along with it. But whatever measure of prosperity the people enjoyed was more than offset by their inability to get one form of government and stick to it. They changed their minds about officials overnight and never could decide between the ecclesiastical authorities on one side and the civil against the other, the *ayuntamiento* or the governors, the administrative officers or the ex-administrative officers. Moreover, there was mutiny, brigandage, and internecine struggles to further disrupt the peace.

Such are the heritages of Cuba and Bermuda, both of which have become two of the most famous island resorts in the world. In a world which war and the weather have made very small for the vacationist, these islands are more in favor today than ever before. The general tension in Europe, the civil war in Spain, and the war in the Far East have all contributed to the increase of visitors to Bermuda and Cuba, and this



The Morro Castle in the harbor of Havana, Cuba.

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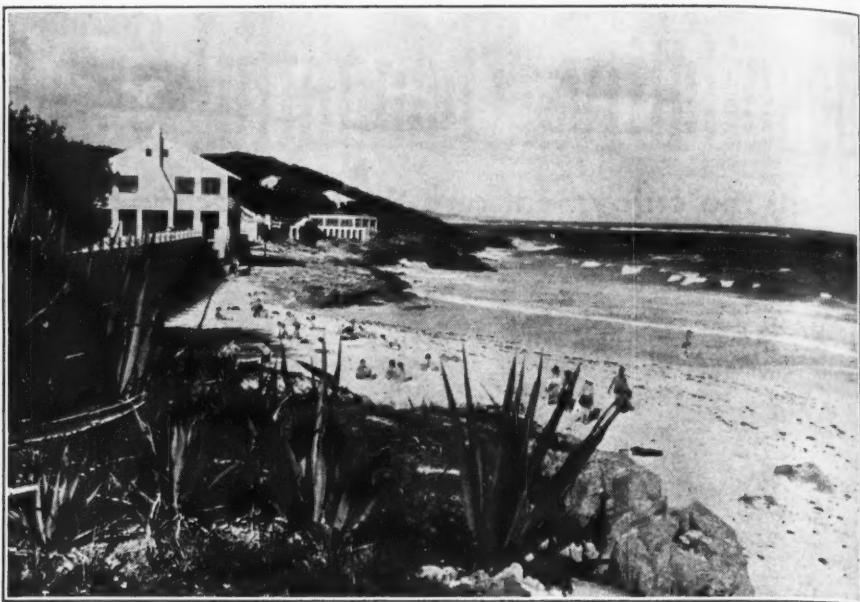
Each year more people go to Mexico City for the winter. They all come back rested, invigorated inspired and with the happy realization that their holiday was less expensive than if they had chosen to stay at home!

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Out of the house and onto the beach at Bermuda.

winter and summer even more people will vacation at one or both of the islands than last year.

Bermuda Today

The trip to Bermuda takes about forty hours by boat and about six hours by airplane. You will have to pay the United States \$5. when you buy your round-trip boat ticket, which will probably average about \$80. or more, although there are accommodations as low as \$60., in which case your tax is \$3. Great Britain also imposes a levy of 12 shillings and 6 pence on each ticket, payable in Bermuda. You can buy only round-trip tickets; one-way tickets are not sold except to Bermuda-born subjects or those in possession of Bermuda landing permits.

Bermuda is one place where the services of a guide are not required. You won't need anybody to tell you what to do and what to see. The island is comfortably small and getting acquainted is no problem. In the winter you'll golf and in the evening you'll wear white ties; in the summer you seldom play more than nine holes because of the heat and you will spend most of your time on the beach or on the lawn with croquet. You can always hire sailboats or speedboats to fit your pace, but you will have to forget all about automobiles for Bermuda is one place where distance is no problem. The people feel that speed and streamlining are out of place in Bermuda and that the danger to life is not worth the questionable advantage of motor cars. Visitors come to Bermuda and believe it impossible at first to get along in a modern civilization without the automobile. They soon change their minds.

A questionnaire distributed recently among 474 departing vacationers disclosed that not one was in favor of motor cars on the island.

Most popular forms of transportation are bicycles, carriages, and the Bermuda Railway, the last named being more of a scenic facility than anything else. Carriages are priced fairly high but the Bermuda officials ask you to remember that you are paying not merely for the carriage but for the absence of automobiles on the roads. The cost of equipment is high, feed is expensive, and the drivers just about make a fair living.

A number of Americans have been so pleased with the moderated tempo and healthful living conditions on the island that they have made permanent residence and have become citizens. They are impressed with the fact that Bermuda has had only two depressions during its entire 325 years' history as a colony, and that neither of the depressions occurred later than the 1860's. Taxation is almost negligible. There are no levies on incomes, inheritances, deaths, personal properties, gifts, capital gains, sales, schools, and polls, etc. Real estate assessments are low, generally running less than 50 per cent of the actual cost of land and construction.

Not everybody, however, can become a citizen of Bermuda. In fact, your welcome depends very heavily upon what you do and whom you are. If, for example, you are a union organizer and think that Bermuda offers fertile ground for expanding the labor movement you will be politely but firmly refused access to the island. There are no strikes and no labor unions.

There are other tests you will have to pass if you should desire to live in Bermuda. Your name will be published in the press for all to see and make objections, if they have any. You will then be carefully investigated, Bermudians, you see, are very careful in the selection of their neighbors. There is only a limited area on the island—foreigners may never own more than 2,000 out of the total acreage of 12,500—and the people are chary of admitting anyone whom they feel would disrupt the congeniality of the colony. The final authority on your application is exercised by the Governor who will thoroughly investigate your reputation and the standing in the community from which you have come.

Bermuda does not profess to be a democracy. It is a government of property owners. Less than ten per cent of its citizens can vote; the actual number is 2,456 out of a population of slightly more than 20,000. These are all adult males possessing at least £60 worth of land. There is no representative in the Legislature for every 600 of the population. Bermuda enjoys a grant of legislative powers which cannot be revoked except by special Act of the Imperial Parliament, and has control over its own financial affairs.

Church and educational facilities are ample. There are half a dozen schools for children of all ages, including the co-educational Somers College. The churches are of Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Church of England, African Methodist Episcopal, and Methodist denominations.

Bermuda's relations with the United States have been uniformly friendly except during the American Revolution and the Civil War. When the call to arms against Great Britain was sounded the Bermudians stood by His Majesty, even though their interests in America were very substantial; they had owned a large area in Virginia known as the Bermuda Hundred but still did not feel the Revolution was warranted. The Virginia tract was confiscated by the American government and to this day no settlement of recompense has been made. During the Civil War, the Bermudians sympathized with the Southerners. Many of them were active in running the Northern blockade and a number of them were captured and spent months in Government prisons.

Cuba Today

The big interest in Cuba, of course, is Havana, frequently referred to as the "Metropolis of the Caribbean." Unlike Hamilton in Bermuda, Havana is a city in every sense of the word. It has a population of 800,000 and is as busy a city in some sections, as you can find anywhere on the American continent. There is another aspect of Havana, however, that seems to hold a more romantic appeal for American visitors. This is Havana of old Spanish reminiscences and old-world tradition. This is the Havana, too, of famous monuments, cathedrals, and old colonial dwellings. The combination of two worlds in one has always attracted the traveler.

Round-trip fares to Havana run

Questions and Answers

Questions on Page 3

1. Honolulu is on the island of Oahu, one of the Hawaiian group.
2. Sun's Tomb, or Sun's Shrine, was built in memory of Dr. Sun Yat Sen.
3. The Chinese Republic was founded in 1911.
4. No; Shanghai is the largest city in China.
5. Shanghai is slightly larger than Chicago; according to *The World Almanac*, Shanghai has a population of 3,490,000; Chicago, 3,376,000.
6. Dr. Sun Yat Sen was the founder of the Chinese Republic.
7. No; Soviet Russia occupies between one-sixth and one-seventh of the world's habitable land.
8. The Tennessee Basin is the drainage area of the Tennessee River.
9. Norris Dam has recently been built in the upper Tennessee Basin.
10. Grand Coulee Dam, which will be the largest ever built.
11. Grand Coulee Dam is on the Columbia River in Washington.
12. William E. Dodd has recently resigned as Ambassador to Germany.
13. Hugh R. Wilson has been appointed to take Mr. Dodd's place.
14. Mr. Wilson was Assistant Secretary of State.
15. Governor Charles H. Martin of Oregon.
16. The lumber industry.
17. The late Andrew Mellon was Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Coolidge and Hoover.
18. Alexander Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury under George Washington.
19. George Washington was president in the eighteenth century.
20. The McNary Farm Bill Amendment would have limited the operation of the farm bill to three years—1938-40.
21. The McNary Amendment was defeated by a vote of 51-25.
22. By the President.

SOUTH AFRICA

Land of Adventure



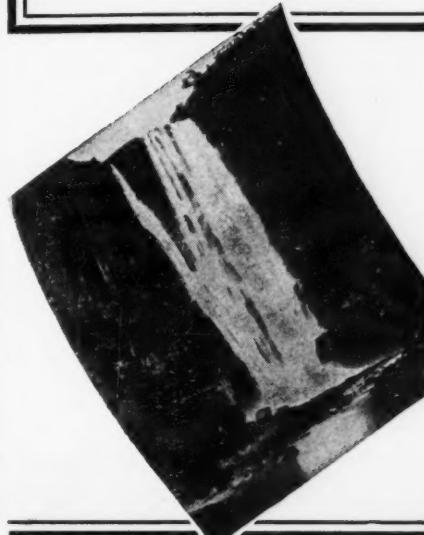
SOUTH AFRICA is famous for its rich variety of scenes. Sights that struck awe into the hearts of the early explorers—Victoria Falls, herds of big game, native Zulu villages with their strange rites and ceremonial dances—can be visited in all their primitive splendor. While—in striking contrast—modern cities and colorful seaside resorts that border the farmlands of the Cape invite the traveler with their holiday attractions of golf, tennis, motoring and glorious surfing and sea bathing.

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Havana, the city of boulevards and monuments.

\$100. or less depending on the season and the accommodations. Special nine-day cruises which include a three-day stay cost approximately \$140., hotel accommodations included. No landing tax is required by Cuba of United States citizens although foreigners are required to pay a tax of \$1. and if their destination is the United States they pay \$8. when embarking.

There is no unanimity among visitors as to what is most impressive in Havana. Some will say that the view of the Morro Castle when approached from the sea is most inspiring. Others choose Havana's wide-boulevards and plazas and churches. Still others favor the government buildings and the public monument. And there are many who remember best the city's centers of amusements. All are right, for all are equally impressive. The historic Morro Castle, a fortress which was once called the "Castle of the Three King of the Morro," looms in the harbor like a miniature Gibraltar standing guard over the island. The boulevards are lined with trees and are well-paved. The most famous of them is the Prado, which extends for two miles and along which are found the leading

hotels, theatres, and other important buildings. Dominating the upper part of the Prado is the \$20,000,000 Capitol building of Cuba, said to be one of the finest structures of its type in the world. The height of its dome, 308 feet, is exceeded only by that of St. Peter's in Rome, 423 feet, and St. Paul's in London, 325 feet. The most famous monument in Havana is the statue of Columbus, discoverer of the island and originator of the phrase, "the loveliest land that human eyes ever have seen." Nearby is the "Templete" shrine, which commemorates the landing of Don Diego Velazquez in 1519. And just at the entrance to the Vedado stands the Maine Monument, erected in 1915 by the Cuban government as a tribute to the 266 Americans who died when the U. S. S. Maine was blown up in the harbor of Havana just forty years ago. Adorning the base of the monument are two cannons and anchor chains which were recovered when the battleship was raised.

Still another tribute to America may be found in the Capitol building where a panel shows the memorable charge of Colonel "Teddy" Roosevelt and his Rough Riders up San Juan Hill in 1898. Nearby is another panel depicting the hoisting of the first Cuban flag from the Morro Castle in 1902, when Governor-General Wood formally delivered the island to Tomas Estrada Palma, the first elected president of the Republic of Cuba.

A typical day for the vacationist in Havana would include a drive, perhaps, along the Prado or along the famous Malecon sea wall to La Playa de Marianao, Havana's most noted bathing beach. It might include, too, a visit to the farm E. Aljibe and a brief

taste of a mango. There, too, the visitor would see a cockfight. Those who lean to golf would go out to the city's Country Club. Those who like racing would visit the famous race track at Marianao. And in the evening there are the night clubs, theatres, amusements, and boatrides in the harbor.

The number of Americans visiting Cuba last year exceeded the 1936 total, which was twice as high as the previous year. And there are strong indications that 1938 will surpass even last year. American lines, which dominate the travel facilities to the Caribbean and coastal routes, are the chief benefactors of this travel trend. The Maritime Commission, appointed by President Roosevelt to study means of bolstering the condition of our merchant marine, regards this as one of the definitely optimistic developments pointing to a brighter future for Uncle Sam's shipping lines. The standard of travel established by the Panama Pacific Lines, Grace Lines, and the others to Havana and coastal ports is as high as that usually found only on leading transatlantic lines. And according to present plans now before the Maritime Commission, the service will be still further extended and improved.

HERE AND THERE

AFRICA is a land of paradoxes. You go there expecting to be impressed by its big game; you come away even more impressed by its beautiful buildings, modern cities, and good transportation facilities. You expect to be warned against wild animals, but instead there are signs everywhere asking you not to tease the lions. You have always thought that a sweet tooth means just that, but you will learn that the way to satisfy the sweet tooth of a pygmy is to give him salt. You anticipate intense heat since you are not far from the equator; instead, you grab up all the blankets you can find at night and are thankful for a good fire.

Some pet lovers keep dogs, some cats, some canaries, but many Cubans find their keenest enjoyment in pet fireflies. Lightning bugs in Cuba are so large and bright that they are sometimes imprisoned in wicker cages and used to illuminate cabins in rural districts. During the day, Cuban women and children often play with the insects, just as they would with other pets. Bathed and fed regularly, these fireflies live for several months.

**The Travel Editor
will be glad to
answer your queries.**

Write to

CURRENT HISTORY
Travel Department

All Hungary is making preparations to welcome nearly 400,000 Roman Catholics from all over the world for the Thirty-Fourth International Eucharistic Congress, to be held in Budapest from May 25 to 28. More than 10,000 from the United States and Canada alone are expected to attend. The Main Altar, before which the great conclave will assemble for Mass, will be erected in one of the city's largest squares, near the entrance of a park. A lake in the park will be drained in order to provide additional space.

A pin which failed to float has often caused many a young lass in the Vosges mountains a little apprehension. It seems that the girls of the village determine their matrimonial possibilities by throwing pins into Saint Sabine's Fountain. If the pin floats, its tosser believes that she will marry soon. If it sinks (as it does almost every time) it is supposed to be a portent that she will not be married for at least a year. Various strategies have been used to overcome the natural laws of submersion, but with little success.

Six English lighthouses are now provided with special perches for birds, with the result that the lives of thousands of migrating birds have been saved. Formerly, the beam of the lantern dazed them, many flying into it and meeting instant death. Now, during the migratory seasons of spring and fall, hundreds of birds rest as guests on the specially provided perches.

Automatic machines are popular in Copenhagen. The railway station has machines providing everything from typewriters to stamps.

There is one place in the world which finds grass on its streets extremely desirable and will grow to the trouble of growing grass on roads where there is none. The place is the Virgin Islands and its reason is to prevent the washing out of roads during heavy storms. Whenever a new stretch of dirt road is built clumps of Devil's Grass are transplanted to it.

Ancient Lachish, mentioned in the Old Testament, and which is supposed to have been at the height of its power about four thousand B.C. is now being uncovered. The city occupied a magnificent situation on a lofty Tel southwest of Beit Jibrin, and guarded the land from the ancient walls to a wide moat at the bottom. Outside the walls

and moat there has been found a huge tomb of pit filled with human bones, in all probability thrust there by Sennacherib when he cleared up the city after the siege and capture by the Assyrians.

The Soviet Union is planning one of the most complete collections of living plants in the world. More than 800 acres on the outskirts of Moscow have been set aside for the purpose on the southern slopes of the Lenin hills, near the Moscow River and the Palace of the Soviets. The Government is sending out for special plants all over the world, and special arrangements are being made to keep alive rare tropical and exotic specimens.

Fine Persian carpets have 600 to 700 stitches to the square inch and when a carpet-maker can squeeze in 1,000 square inches he is considered an artist. There are more than 200 kinds of Persian carpets, many of which are exported to London, now the carpet

center of the world. The finest are usually hung as tapestries and the basic price of an outstanding one, before duty is paid and before it even reaches wholesalers, is often as high as \$12.50 a square foot.

Pumpkin milk is the usual drink in Braunschweig, Germany. Farmers find that the popularity of the beverage has been a boon in enabling them to dispose of their pumpkin harvest. The drink is prepared by slicing the pumpkins and putting them through a presser. The liquid thus squeezed out will keep indefinitely and with the addition of a little cacao makes an excellent chocolate. It can also be made into a powder and used in manufacturing a carmel candy.

A tooth which may have belonged to the "missing link" has been said to have been discovered in the Sterkfontein caves of South Africa. One of three found by a noted scientist, it is believed to be 200,000 years old.

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The World Today in Books

(Continued from Page 6)

and knows the political situation in the Balkans and the Danube countries as well as his own name. His book is a welcome contribution for it assorts, classifies and puts each one of the many nations in the central European jumble in its own light. Americans know less, generally speaking, about Central Europe than they do about any part of the continents of Europe and Asia. They usually become confused when they have to place on an imaginary map the locations of Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Albania, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Greece. And the confusion becomes slightly worse confounded when they try to assess each one in its relations not only to each other but to fascist blocs and to democratic blocs and what-not.

If ever a complicated tangle needed unraveling, it is Central Europe and Fodor has done the job with more interest than one would think possible in such a subject. Central Europe today, he writes, is somewhat nervous. The Rome-Berlin axis upset its balance and made the smaller countries fear for their lives. Austria has had nightmares over the pressure brought to bear on her by both Italy and Germany but doesn't dare to say a word in self-defense, lest self-defense become an armed necessity. Central Europe is nervous, too, when it hears about the size of the Russian war machine. And it is not altogether impossible, Fodor says, that Germany and the Soviet will throw away their swords and agree on shares of the central European booty, the Germans to dominate Austria, Hungary, and the Western Balkans, including Yugoslavia and Greece, and the Russians to exercise influence over the Eastern Balkans, including Constantinople.

Ridiculous? Not as it may seem at first mention. At the turn of the century Russia's mortal enemy was Austria and it appeared that only war could settle the differences between the two. Yet in 1903, at the moment relations between the two countries were most strained, a pact of peace was concluded. Why not a pact of peace in this instance? Mr. Fodor merely mentions the possibility but does not commit his own opinion other than to say that all such conjecture is music of the future.

More of the Transgressor

THE High Priest of the nobility of the Fourth Estate, Negley Farson, has

followed the way of a transgressor to South America. His *Transgressor in the Tropics* is the record of his experiences and observations among our neighbors to the South. It would be unfair to expect Mr. Farson's latest book to be as completely absorbing as his *Way of a Transgressor*; an autobiography as remarkable as that cannot be written every day, yet those who were attracted to the first work will regard *Transgressor in the Tropics* as an attractive and welcome side dish rather than another main course.

If Farson has an equal as a storyteller that person has not been exposed to public view. The Transgressor can take you on a tramp steamer and inside of a few minutes make you feel as if you knew the captain and the crew all your life. And the same skill also applies to countries and peoples and political situations and things you like to know that you never knew before.

In South America Farson pried open closed books everywhere. The United States and Great Britain still exploit the fabulously rich oil fields of Venezuela, Colombia, and Peru; they operate the gold mines of Colombia and Ecuador, together with the remaining public utilities; and they mine all the copper coming out of Peru and Chile. "In other words, the Americans and British still have their hands on the national incomes of these countries." But they are not doing it any more with the acquiescence of the local statesmen. It seems that they are no longer welcome and the South Americans are casting about for ways to free themselves of exploitation.

Price of Peace

AN INFORMAL little essay on peace and ways of remaining at peace has been written by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and is called *This Troubled World*. It is a little longer than the full-sized magazine article and the First Lady explains her feelings on a number of world problems, briefly, charmingly, and with an utter lack of affectation. Her conclusion may seem to some to show unwarranted faith in man as a peace-loving specimen, but faith has always been the least of all faults.

Mrs. Roosevelt believes that brotherly love can do good, but only when it is translated into action. If we want peace, she says, we will have to want it enough to want to pay for it, "in our behavior and in material ways. We will have to want it enough to overcome our lethargy and go out and find all those in other countries who want it as much as we do."

Dr. Butler's World

Some months ago Quincy Howe wrote a little book called *England Expects Every American to do His Duty*. It was a warning that we would be called on again, as we were in the past, to carry the torch for His Majesty in whatever war Great Britain might be involved. Mr. Howe advised Americans to steer clear of any alliances, especially when the appeal was based on the argument that the English-speaking peoples should stay together under all circumstances. For the diametrically opposite point of view, we can refer to *The Family of Nations*, by Nicholas Murray Butler. The president of Columbia University would like to see all this petty squabbling among nations cease and he believes that the way to do it is through international cooperation.

This is not a new nor startling pronouncement for Dr. Butler. He has been advocating a family of nations from the moment he became articulate as a public figure and that was as far back as anyone of us can remember. He saw great possibilities in the League of Nations but he thinks the big mistake was to link it up with the "vengeful and backward-facing provisions" of the Treaty of Versailles. He contends, too, that the League suffered a heavy blow when it was snubbed by the United States. This was one of our greatest diplomatic errors, Dr. Butler says. We cannot remain remote and aloof from the rest of the world and say that nothing concerns us but ourselves:

The folly of this illusion is only exceeded by its profound immorality. If one sees a fellow human being assaulted and outraged in a public place, he quickly gives the alarm and calls the police. He does not regard himself as aloof from the criminal happening but rather sees it to be of direct and intimate concern to himself and to the social order of which he is a member. Precisely the same is true of the conduct of nations. An assault by one nation upon another has now become as criminal an act as is the assault of one individual upon another.

Dr. Butler thinks it would be tragic if anything should come between the United States and Great Britain. We both speak the same language, he points out, and it would be a calamity if the peoples of both nations lost their self-confidence, their courage, and their determination to understand each other and to work always together for the common end.